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2	Ditto - -	Jan. 1, 1879 (Rec. Feb. 6, 1879).	Return of casualties in the late Kafir War in the Cape Colony between September 1877 and October 1878.	1
3	Ditto - -	Jan. 20, 1879 (Rec. Feb. 6, 1879) (Telegraphic).	Lord Chelmsford to-day probably with Glyn's column near Isipezi; Colonel Pearson's moving on Ekowe; Colonel Durnford with General; Colonel Wood advancing from Bumbas Kraal. All well up to latest dates.	6
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Serial No.	From or to whom.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
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SOUTH AFRICA.

No. 1.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Jan. 25, 1879.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

January 6, 1879.

IN consequence of non-compliance with our demands by specified date I have issued a notification, dated 4th January, placing their further enforcement in the hands of the General, with the request that he will take such steps as he may find necessary to protect the British territory from aggression, and to compel the Zulu King to comply with all the demands made on him, whether for the satisfaction of the British Government or for the greater security of British territory, or for the better and more peaceable government of the Zulu people, until the 11th January Lord Chelmsford will be willing to receive and transmit to me any intimation of the unqualified and complete acceptance by the Zulu King of all the terms offered to him on the 11th December; no sign of Cetywayo's compliance with any of the demands; Commodore, with "Active" and "Tenedos," gone northwards along the coast; there is little news to-day; all well as far as we have heard on the frontier; active preparations for crossing at all points; Tugela still flooded.

No. 2.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 6, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg,
January 1, 1879.

SIR,

IN reply to your Despatch of the 20th August last,* regarding casualties in the late Kaffir war in the Cape Colony, I have the honour to transmit copy of a minute and its enclosure which I have received from my Ministers, and which will, I trust, explain the delay that has occurred in obtaining the information required.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner,

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 2.

MINUTE on a despatch, dated 20th August last.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Cape Town,
December 16, 1878.

MINISTERS have the honour to forward to his Excellency the Governor, an abstract with returns in detail, of the casualties which have occurred in the Auxiliary Forces of the Cape of Good Hope during the period from the 26th September 1877 to the 31st October 1878.

This return has been compiled by the Commandant-General of Colonial Forces who, in forwarding it, states that he has experienced great difficulty in obtaining the necessary information from some of the corps.

For the period from the 1st November 1878, Colonel Jarvis has undertaken to render periodical returns with all possible regularity.

(Signed) J. GORDON SPRIGG.

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* Was not printed.

ABSTRACT of CASUALTIES in accompanying RETURN.

Died in action	33	Wounded in action	35
by lightning	1	by kick of horse	1
accidentally shot	6	by divers injuries	8
by exposure	1		
by explosions	4		
by post riding	1		
by kick from horse	1		
by waggon	1		
Died of Diseases in hospital and elsewhere :—			
Fever	63		
Dysentery			
Consumption			
Liver			
Deaths	111		44

Total casualties, 155.

S. V. JARVIS, Col.,
Commandant General.

RETURN of CASUALTIES which have occurred in the AUXILIARY FORCES of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, between the 26th September 1877 and the 31st October 1878.

Rank and Name.	Force in which Serving.	Nature of Casualty.	Date of Casualty.	Place of Casualty.	Place of Enrolment.	Remarks, showing place of Birth and other Information tending to prove Identity.
Lieutenant Belling	Stutterheim Light Infantry.	Seriously shot through shoulder and wrist.	7/4/78	Xaxlazele	Stutterheim	Late of German Legion, now residing at Ohlsen near Stutterheim.
Private C. Schoulst	"	Shot in arm	8/2/78	Upper Kabousie	"	Son of a German immigrant residing at Stutterheim.
" Fensky	Stutterheim Burghers.	Killed	9/3/78	Isidenge	"	German immigrant.
" Siebert	"	"	"	"	"	Ditto.
" Meier	Stutterheim Md. Police.	Arm broken	31/5/78	Sugarbush Flat	"	Ditto.
" A. Christensen	Stutterheim Foot Police.	Died of typhoid fever.	30/4/78	Stutterheim Hospital.	"	Native of Denmark.
" C. Christensen	"	" "	16/6/78	" "	"	Brothers.
" R. Dicks	Wodehouse True Blues.	Killed	6/5/78	Perie	Dordrecht	Refer to Civil Commissioner, Dordrecht.
" H. Claasen	"	"	8/5/78	"	"	A German, residing before the war at King William's Town.
" Johnson	"	Shot through left shoulder, arm amputated.	"	"	"	Refer to Civil Commissioner of Dordrecht.
" H. Cleck	Kaffrarian Rangers.	Died. Typhoid fever.	25/5/78	Stutterheim Hospital.	King Wm.'s Town	Refer to Civil Commissioner.
" J. Eales	Somerset Burghers.	Shot in the groin	26/1/78	In the fight at Thyumbazana, near Lugilo.	Somerset, East	Refer to the Civil Commissioner, Somerset East.
" Strobel	"	Shot through the arm.	"	" "	" "	Ditto.
" Russel	George Town Contingent.	Shot through hand.	10/3/78	Kabusi Neck	George Town	Refer to Civil Commissioner.
" W. Smith	Graaf Reinet Volunteers.	Shot in breast, and died subsequently.	"	Frachet's Toll (Dohne Toll).	Graaf Reinet	An Irishman. Refer to Civil Commissioner.
" B. Bowker	Bowker's Rovers.	Gun shot wound above left knee.	11/3/78	Isidenge	Graham's Town	Place of birth unknown. Recovered from wound and served in the force till July last.
" F. Hillier	"	Gun shot wound through chest.	"	"	" "	Place of birth, England, Died about three hours after being shot.
Gunner R. G. Tainton	King Wm's. Town Vol. Artillery.	Killed	31/12/77	Kwelegha	- -	Peddle.
" J. J. R. Tainton	"	"	"	"	- -	Ditto.
Trooper P. Nell	Frontier Md. Riflemen.	Gun shot wound	15/1/78	Chichaba Valley	Lily Fontein.	
" Pike	Albany Rangers.	" "	17/1/78	Kabousie	Salem.	
Captain C. Boyes	Hottentot Levies.	" "	4/2/78	Chichaba Valley	Eland's Post	Died.
Trooper J. Jervis	Frontier Md. Riflemen.	" "	18/3/78	Perie Heights	Lily Fontein	Died.
" Kilfoil	Fort White Volunteers.	" "	"	" "	Fort White.	
" C. Mulder	Humansdorp Lt. Horse.	" "	"	" "	Humansdorp.	
" T. Nickirk	"	" "	"	"	"	
" J. Graham	Frontier Md. Riflemen.	Injury to knee joint.	10/6/78	On patrol	Lily Fontein.	

RETURN OF CASUALTIES—*continued.*

Rank and Name.	Force in which Serving.	Nature of Casualty.	Date of Casualty.	Place of		Remarks, showing place of Birth and other Information tending to prove Identity.
				Casualty.	Enrolment.	
Trooper C. Scammell -	Frontier Md. Riflemen.	Dislocation of humerus.	23/7/78	Fort Pato -	King Wm.'s Town	
„ C. King - -	„	Amputation of leg.	25/7/78	Bridle Drift -	„ „	
„ W. Brown -	„	Bursting of a shell.	2/4/78	Perie Heights -	Lily Fontein.	
„ C. Bodley -	„	Fractured skull	20/2/78	Gonubie Drift -	„	
„ E. Horne - -	1st City Md. Volunteers.	Typhoid fever -	31/5/78	Albany Hospital	Transferred from Diamond Fields Horse.	Somerset East.
„ G. F. Kiddle -	„	„ „ -	12/6/78	„ „	- - -	England, Devon's Road, Bromley.
Corporal L. Walters -	„	„ „ -	1/7/78	„ „	- - -	Ireland, County Limerick.
Private Munshausen -	Buffalo Md. Volunteers	Wounded in thigh.	31/3/78	- - -	Panmure.	
Bomb. C. E. Hornabrook -	Grahamstown Volunteer Horse Arty.	Gun shot wound through right thigh.	2/12/77	Umsintzani -	Grahamstown -	Easingwold, Yorkshire, England.
Private J. D. Grobbelaar -	Yarka Burghers.	Killed in action -	15/1/78	Engwali Quanti	Tarkastad -	Tarka District. Father still living in the district.
Captain G. I. Gilfillan -	Queenstown Hottentot Levy.	Killed by lightning.	11/3/78	Grey Hospital -	Queenstown -	Captain J. Gilfillan's friends are all in the colony. He was a civil engineer by profession, employed on the East London and Queenstown Railway prior to to the war.
Trooper H. Berry - -	Port Elizabeth Vol. Horse.	Died of fever -	10/4/78 (about).	Grey Hospital, K. Wm.'s Town.	Port Elizabeth -	Was a native of Port Elizabeth; enrolled in January last.
Corporal C. H. Lee -	Jansenville Yeomanry.	Died from an accidental revolver shot from one of his comrades.	5/3/78			
Trooper P. Lotz - -	Wodehouse True Blues.	Died through exposure.	6/12/77	Dordrecht -	Dordrecht -	Born Hesse Cassel, Germany; came to Colony in the German Legion.
„ Taylor - -	„	Accidentally shot	18/3/78	„ - -	„	
„ Birkemeire -	„	„ „	14/4/78	Cathcart -	„ -	Came to Colony in the German Legion.
„ J. Petzer - -	Stevenson's Horse.	Shot dead accidentally by a comrade whilst out on night patrol.	8/5/78	- - -	Peelton - -	Was son of a farmer near Frankfort.
Private J. S. Le Suer -	Victoria West Volunteers.	Severely wounded in thigh.	28/5/78	Driefontein Griqualand West.	Victoria West -	Not known.
„ Palterman -	„	Slightly wounded in thigh.	5/6/78	Koegas - -	„ -	„
„ France - -	Wodehouse True Blues.	Killed in action -	8/5/78	Buffalo Range.		
„ F. Wittstock -	German Burgher Corps.	Killed whilst on sentry by Kaffir.	10/5/78	Breidbach -	- - -	Wife and five children.
„ W. Peter - -	„	Typhoid fever -	12/5/78	K. Wm's. Town.		
Corporal E. Woodward -	F. A. M. P.	Killed in action -	5/6/78	Driefontein Griqualand West.	Grahamstown -	Not known.
Private W. Caldecott -	„	Slightly wounded in knee.	„	Koegas - -	K. Wm.'s Town -	„
Inspector R. A. Nesbitt -	„	Severely wounded in thigh.	22/6/78	Paarde Kloof.		
Private McSorley - -	Sissison's Horse.	Slightly wounded in arm.	28/10/78	"Keikabis" -	Murraysburg.	
Inspector R. A. Nesbitt -	C. M. R.	Slightly wounded on hand.	„	„		
Private C. J. Butler -	F. A. M. P.	Typhoid fever -	29/3/78			
„ W. Allford -	„	„ „	5/3/78			
„ E. Idler - -	„	„ „	17/4/78			
„ P. M. Romeling -	„	„ „	19/4/78			
„ R. Firth - -	„	„ „	7/5/78			
„ A. Bursey - -	„	„ „	16/5/78			
„ A. J. Griffin -	„	„ „	18/5/78			
„ G. Cobbett - -	„	„ „	21/5/78			
„ W. Frere - -	„	Dysentery - -	1/6/78			
„ H. Holbeck -	„	Fever - -	26/6/78			
„ W. Mansfield -	„	„ - -	3/7/78			
„ W. D. Lukis -	„	„ - -	10/7/78			
Corporal D. Gallichan -	„	Fever and dysentery.	14/3/78			
Private J. Smith - -	„	Acute peritonitis	30/4/78			
Corporal Stokes - -	„	Dysentery - -	23/2/78			
Private C. Hamilton -	„	Typhoid fever -	18/4/78			
„ F. Harrison -	„	„ „	22/5/78			
„ F. Schuppan -	„	Killed by explosion at Kokstadt.	14/4/78			

RETURN OF CASUALTIES—*continued.*

Rank and Name.	Force in which Serving.	Nature of Casualty.	Date of Casualty.	Place of Casualty.	Place of Enrolment.	Remarks, showing place of Birth and other Information tending to prove Identity.
Private K. Rogers -	F.A.M.P.	Killed by explosion at Kokstadt.	14/4/78			
Serjeant J. Kadle - -	„	Fever and dysentery.	17/4/78			
Private J. Garfield -	„	Fever - -	16/3/78			
„ E. E. Dannenberg	„	„ - -	26/3/78			
„ S. Toovey -	„	„ - -	26/4/78			
„ R. Smith -	„	„ - -	30/4/78			
Sub-Insp. G. C, Hohenau -	„	Killed in action -	26/9/77			
Private J. Ashley - -	„	„ „	„			
„ P. Ohelsen -	„	Accidentally shot	30/9/77			
„ W. O. Halloran -	„	Suicide - -	25/11/7			
„ C. Meyerhoffer -	„	Wound received in action.	31/12/77			
„ W. Giese - -	„	Killed in action -	29/12/77			
„ J. Breen - -	„	Killed whilst post riding.	1/1/78			
„ T. Derbyshire -	„	Fever - -	3/5/78			
„ J. Child - -	„	„ - -	26/6/78			
„ C. L. Brown -	„	„ - -	31/5/78			
„ F. Bezuidenhout -	F.A.M.P.	Killed in action -	26/9/77			
„ F. E. Travers -	„	„ „ -	27/12/77			
„ A. Lambert -	„	Dysentery and fever.	14/5/78			
„ M. Shepperson -	„	„ „	15/5/78			
„ F. Goddard -	„	„ „	17/5/78			
„ M. J. Thompson -	„	„ „	31/5/78			
Serjeant R. Keys - -	„	Fever - -	29/6/78			
Private C. Evans - -	„	Killed in action -	26/9/77			
„ T. Donaldson -	„	„ „ -	„			
„ W. McAninch -	„	„ „ -	„			
„ E. Waller - -	„	„ „ -	„			
„ W. Brown -	„	Consumption -	10/9/77			
„ W. Adams -	„	Fever - -	21/4/78			
„ E. Wesley -	„	Killed in action -	2/12/77			
„ T. Weatherhead -	„	Kick of a horse -	16/3/78			
„ A. Macarthur -	„	Dysentery -	18/4/78			
„ P. S. Griffiths -	„	Died of dysentery	4/10/78			
„ G. Wills - -	„	„ fever -	18/8/78			
„ E. Tappenden -	„	„ enteric fever.	7/8/78			
„ E. Applin -	„	„ fever -	2/8/78			
„ W. A. Beecher -	„	„ „ -	26/9/78			
D. Brown - - -	Pulleine's Rangers.	Died in hospital	20/8/78	K. Wm's. Town	Port Elizabath.	
H. Howard - -	„	„ „	4/4/78	„ „	„ „	
G. Warne - -	„	Died - -	16/4/78	„ „	„ „	
H. Spaulding - -	„	„ - -	19/5/78	„ „	Cape Town.	
D. Farley -	„	„ - -	21/4/78	Toline - -	Port Elizabeth.	
J. O. Gilby - -	„	Shot by accident	8/5/78	Fort Wellington	„ „	
G. Williams - -	„	Killed by waggon	3/7/78	Kei Drift -	Cape Town.	Late 32nd Regiment.
J. Hill - - -	„	Died in hospital	29/5/78	K. Wm's. Town	K. Wm's. Town	
J. Leeson - - -	„	„ „	15/5/78	„ „	„ „	
J. Mew - - -	„	„ „	12/8/78	Butterworth -	„ „	
W. Rose - - -	„	„ „	1/6/78	K. Wm's. Town	Cape Town.	
Trooper C. Sanson -	Chalumna Vol. Cavalry.	Blown to pieces by explosion of ammunition in a thunder storm.	30/1/78	Hangman's Bush, K. Wm's. Town	- -	Was born at Fort England, Grahamstown, 19/9/41. He leaves a widow and five children. Sanson's father served in 27th Regiment.
Sergeant J. C. Hall -	„	Shot through liver by rebels.	13/3/78	Bush between Fort Pato and Mount Coke.	- - -	Born in Alexandria, 4/1/40. Leaves a widow and four children.
Captain H. Warren -	„	Shoulder scraped	30/4/78	Untombu.		
Corporal D. Simpson -	Loxton's Whittlesea Levy.	Withering of right arm.	Between 20/2/78 and 18/3/78	On escort and night patrol on frontier.	Queenstown -	Is a native of Kincardineshire, Scotland. Age about 55, black hair, florid complexion, and about 5ft. 10 in. in height. He has a wife and five small children depending upon their mother for support.
Trooper A. W. Staples -	Queenstown Light Horse.	Assegai wound in side.	24/1/78	Gwatyu - -	„ -	A bachelor residing with his family at Queenstown.
Burgher A. Kruger -	Albert Burghers.	Gunshot wound above testicles.	„	„ - -	Burghersdorp -	Dutch farmer residing at Riet Poort, district of Albert.
Trooper C. Filmer -	Whittlesea Mounted Rifles.	Shot through both legs.	4/2/78	Madagana -	Whittlesea -	Since dead, but not from effect of wounds. A bachelor; friends near Queenstown.
„ W. A. C. Bouwer	Junction Volunteers.	Shot through foot	3/6/78	Thomas River -	Queenstown -	A farmer residing near Queenstown.

RETURN OF CASUALTIES—*continued.*

Rank and Name.	Force in which Serving.	Nature of Casualty.	Date of Casualty.	Place of		Remarks, showing place of Birth and other Information tending to prove Identity.
				Casualty.	Enrolment.	
Trooper T. Mulroy -	Frontier Light Horse.	Gun-shot wound in leg, severe.	7/1/78	Quinstani -	Transkei -	Now living in King William's Town, recommended for pension by medical board.
„ W. Theis - -	„	Dysentery and fever.	20/4/78	Isidengi -	- - -	Died in hospital, King William's Town. Have not been able to trace any relations, and know nothing as to his antecedents.
Sergeant C. Runchman -	„	Typhoid fever -	1/2/78	Hospital, K.Wm's. Town.	K. Wm's. Town	Cousin now in Frontier Light Horse. Uncle's address, 87, Richmond Rd., Hackney, London.
Trooper J. Jackson	„	Dysentery -	6/2/78	„ „	Port Elizabeth -	Place of birth unknown. Died.
„ F. Jansen -	„	„ -	2/4/78	Ibeka - -	East London -	Died in hospital. Wife and family reside in East London.
„ M. George	Frontier Light Horse	Gunshot wound through shoulder, very severe.	4/4/78	Isidingi - -	Grahamstown -	Believed to be at King William's Town, and recommended for a pension by medical board.
„ H. Schmidt -	„	Gunshot wound of arm.	11/4/78	Perie Bush -	K. Wm's. Town	Left arm amputated. This man came from Germany, and is still in King William's Town, and is recommended for pension by medical board.
Captain E. H. McNaughten	„	Killed in action -	8/5/78	„ -	„ „	Widow and family live at King William's Town.
„ W. Whalley -	„	Severe contusion	„	„ -	- - -	Now in Frontier Light Horse.
Corporal M. McCabe -	„	Killed in action -	„	„ -	Grahamstown -	Born in Grahamstown, and brother to Sub-Inspector McCabe, Frontier Armed & Mounted Police.
Trooper D. Davis - -	„	„ „ -	„	„ -	„ -	Mother lives at 227, Moseley Street, Birmingham.
„ J. Gilbert -	„	Gunshot wound through right breast, dangerous.	„	„ -	K. Wm's. Town	Now believed to be at King William's Town, and recommended for a pension by medical board.
„ Parker - -	„	Broken leg, fell from horse.	9/7/78	Pullen's Farm -	Port Elizabeth -	Recovered and went home to Port Elizabeth.
Sergt.-Major L. Holdich -	„	Typhoid fever -	20/7/78	Komgha -	Grahamstown -	Died in hospital; mother's address, Seaham, Lincoln, England.
Trooper W. Pearn -	„	Injury to hip joint by kick from horse.	2/8/78	Kokstadt -	Port Elizabeth -	Invalided and discharged to his friends at Port Elizabeth.
Private J. Cogho - -	Kaffrarian Volunteers.	Wounded in thigh	9/10/77	The "Springs"	- - -	This man is in King William's Town; suffers still from wound; cannot work or ride; application for gratuity recommended by commandant-general.
„ D. Wainwright -	„	Wounded in head	9/10/78	„ „		
Captain M. Goss - -	Transkeian Fingo Levies.	Killed in action -	20/10/78	Lusizi -	- - -	Leaves a wife and six children.
„ J. Goss - -	„	„ „	„	„ - -	- - -	Leaves wife and nine children.
Corporal H. Stahlschmidt -	Prince Alfred's Vol. Guards.	Wounded severely by bullet in groin, right side.	2/12/78	Umsitzani.		
Private E. Pickering -	„	Bullet wound, right arm and hand, severe.	„	„		
Captain W. Bradshaw -	Streatfield's Fingoes.	Killed in action -	19/3/78	- - -	- - -	No family.
„ Manley - -	Sansom's Volunteers.	Shot in action, 23/2/78, and died on the	21/3/78	Davis Bush -	- - -	Wife and five children.
„ G. Webster -	Transkeian Fingoes.	Killed in action -	6/4/78	Tabindona -	- - -	Unmarried.
Private J. Dooley - -	Graaf Reinet Volunteers.	Accidentally shot	11/4/78	Frachet's Toll -	- - -	Wife and two children.
Captain A. Woods -	Transkeian Fingo Levies	Liver complaint	13/4/78	- - -	- - -	Wife and five children.
„ J. Sharpley -	„	Typhoid fever -	„	- - -	- - -	Unmarried.

S. P. JARVIS, Colonel, Commandant-General.

No. 3.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 6, 1879.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

January 20, 1879.

LORD Chelmsford to-day, probably with Glyn's column, near Isipezi; Colonel Pearson's moving on Ekowe; Colonel Durnford with General Colonel Wood, advancing from Bumba's kraal; all well up to latest dates; 19, from Pearson, 15, from other columns.

No. 4.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 6, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
January 1, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward for your information a letter from Mr. Rudolph, Landdrost of Utrecht, addressed to my private Secretary, and forwarding report of a message he had received from the Zulu King, together with a copy of the answer he had sent to it.

I take this opportunity of forwarding various other papers which throw light on the present state of affairs on the Zulu border and in Zululand.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Enclosure 1. in No. 4.

Landdrost Office, Utrecht, November 25, 1878.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose for the information of his Excellency the Administrator copy of a message received by me from Cetywayo, containing also my answer to the messengers and what Colonel Wood said to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. M. RUDOLPH,
Landdrost.

The Hon. W. F. Littleton,
Private Secretary, High Commissioner,
Pietermaritzburg.

Utrecht, November 22, 1878.

Appeared "Umbembie" and "Nozuza," Zulu messengers, and Faku, the Zulu induna of the recently erected military kraal at Luneberg.

These messengers state that they are sent by Cetywayo to the Landdrost of Utrecht to say to him,—

That some time ago, he (Cetywayo) sent a sum of money to Natal Government as a fine for "Sirayo," and his son's misdeeds, but that the money was returned to him, which surprised him, as such matters were always settled by the Government by accepting a fine.

That shortly after the money was returned to him, he ascertained that troops were advancing towards Zululand from Natal by different roads, and that he believed that Zululand was going to be invaded by them.

That he in consequence gathered t ogether a very large portion of his army at "Ulundi," in order to be ready to resist the troops should they cross the Tugela and commence hostilities.

That, whilst his force was so collected at Ulundi, "Lagada" a messenger from the Natal Government, came to him, saying he had been sent by the Government to ask him why his regiments "Umatshwa" and "Bonambi" had been sent to the banks of the Tugela to frighten and disturb the subjects of the Government, and why he had called his army together.

That, he told "Lagada" that he done so simply to defend himself, should the troops cross over to his country as he had ascertained that they were advancing towards Zululand, and that he believed the Government was angry about the matter of "Sirayo" and his son.

That he denied that his regiments had been sent to the Tugela, but told Lagada that the Zulus who were seen on the Tugela was a hunting party, consisting of those Zulus living near the banks of the Tugela.

That he told Lagada that he never would cross his boundary to make war with his father, the English Government, who had made him King of the Zulus.

That he immediately after Lagada's arrival dispersed his army.

That at the time, when he ordered the German settlers of Luneburg to leave that place, he did not know that they were subjects to the Government, but that as he knows now that they are such, they may remain and occupy the land, as they will not be molested by any Zulus or by "Umbilini," and that, seeing that the safety of the Germans is now guaranteed by him, he wishes the Landdrost to cause the troops to be removed from Luneberg back to Utrecht.

That, having heard that some of his people along the border lately stole some cows from P. van Rooyen, and that for some time past cattle have been stolen from white people by Zulus, he has sent them (these messengers) to search for and deliver up all cattle stolen, and to punish the thieves by eating them up.

Colonel Wood, at my request, was present when the messengers spoke about the Luneburg Germans, and the removal of the troops from there, and he informed the messengers that the troops were stationed there by the orders of the General to protect Her Majesty's subjects, not to molest any Zulus, and that the troops could only be removed by the directions of the General.

I gave the messengers a beast to eat, and informed them that I could not give them an answer to Cetywayo, to his message, but that I would transmit the message to his Excellency the High Commissioner and to his Excellency Sir T. Shepstone.

The messengers appeared satisfied, and said that they would send down to inform Cetywayo what they had been told by me, whilst they would proceed to the border to hunt up stolen cattle.

(Signed) G. M. Rudolph,
Landdrost.

In presence of Sabulawa and Mangini, Native Police Indunas.

Enclosure 2. in No. 4.

Sir, Derby, New Scotland, December 18, 1878.

I have to report another murder committed by a party of Zulus on the "Jagdt-Padt," close to our place at the Pemvand. I went there to meet my father and wagons en route up from Natal. I saw them safely through the Zulu occupation.

Mr. J. S. Vermaak, jun., also went from here with his wagon to lighten our loads.

On the morning of Monday the 16th instant (about 11 a.m.), one Mannyondo, a Zulu, residing close by, was killed by other Zulus 450 yards from our store.

Umtquio (second Chief in command of the military kraal of Maqutusen), and Umbemba (King's messenger and border agent), both with numerous followers, were at Umtombotis, sitting over the case of cattle lifting, *re* P. H. Van Royen and John Vremaak.

These Chiefs came down to talk with me, and beg. While we were in conversation in the house, a supposed hunting party arrived, chanting their hunting songs. The leader entered and called the Chief Umtquio aside, and whispered something; five minutes afterwards the hunting party moved off, inviting Mannyondo among others to accompany them. They proceeded a short distance, and then suddenly pounced upon Mannyondo, who ran towards the river, they after them, and kerried and stoned him to death; then the whole party rushed over the river to his kraal, between the destroyed houses of Messrs. Lucas and Daniel Van Royen, seized all his cattle, and plundered the kraal, but left the women and children. Our drivers and leaders were with me at the store, the

wagons being outspanned before the door, and Mr. Vermaak came up immediately afterwards. We all went and examined the dead body. His head was literally smashed, a lot of heavy stones were lying about covered with brains and blood; no assegai wounds in his body.

Mannyondo formerly lived near to Zungani's Neck. Last season he moved up to Pemvana. He has been accused of witchcraft, and no doubt was killed for the same.

1. About two years ago he was accused of causing the intestines of one "Ishalaba," residing at the Kulabantu Mabambas Kraal, to unnaturally protrude at various times.

2. Latterly some of the King's cattle at the same kraal, under charge of Ishalaba, suffered from some similar disease.

3. A baboon seized and bit the udder of a royal cow at the same kraal. The witch-doctors put all these things down to Mannyondo, hence his death.

The Chiefs and others present emphatically denied this murder having any connexion with the business they were engaged in, and told me the above story.

The attacking party were under the command of a son of the late Masipula, sent up expressly from Mahlabatim.

Mannyondo was wounded by the "Swazis" seven years ago, at the time of Umbelini's raid into Amaswaziland to bring out Umtshiyana; he was left by the Zulus as dead, and picked up by Mr. C. Van Rooyen (thick Cornelius) near the White River, taken care of, and sent back to his kraal; he was about 35 years of age. I knew him well, he was a good native, and I believe Mr. Van Rooyen can testify to the same. Mannyondo intended to come over to the English when the crisis took place.

The Secretary for Native Affairs requested me (October 1877), after my report of the murder of "Mafusseen" at Umkambula, near the Umfolosi Drift (15/10/77), to specially examine and report upon any future murders which might come to my notice.

Owing to our compulsory ejectment last season from the Zulu Border I have been unable to witness and examine into any of the almost daily massacres among the Zulus, until this case of Mannyondo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. Potter.

G. M. Rudolph, Esq.,
Landdrost, Utrecht.

Enclosure 3. in No. 4.

Officer Commanding Troops, Helpmakaar.

Utrecht, December 19, 1878.

Please peruse appended reports of scouts, and forward.

I am, &c.
(Signed) Evelyn Wood,
Colonel.

Noted and forwarded to D. A. S.

(Signed) R. T. Glyn, Colonel, 1/24th Regiment,
Helpmakaar, 21/12/28. Commanding at Helpmakaar.

Utrecht, December 19, 1878.

A scout posted on the Lower Pivan to watch the Zulu border came in here to-day and reports:

He has spent two days in the neighbourhood of Zungen Neck. On Tuesday 17th instant a messenger arrived from Cetywayo for Bemba, one of the Chiefs employed to collect cattle to restore to Dutch and Germans, to say that he was to desist from collecting and restore what cattle he had already got to their Zulu owners, for as the English were determined to attack him it was useless to try and pacify them.

The purport of this was repeated to the scout by Bemba's nephew. The messenger proceeded, before a number of people collected to hear him, to summon the men to repair to the military kraals of their respective regiments, as Cetywayo was collecting his people; he expects to be attacked next moon, and will be ready to begin with the new moon, and "fight while it is still young."

People present said, "We are threatened by troops on our side, why assemble in another direction?" (with reference to assembling at Utlundi).

The purport of the High Commissioner's recent message is not yet known to the people.

Another scout come in from the same neighbourhood, but a different kraal, confirms this statement, and adds that Bemba at first disputed the message about the cattle, and asked why, but was obliged by the indunas at the Bajahisini Milts kraal to comply with the order.

(Signed) E. Woodgate,
Captain, D. S. O.

Report of Scouts.

Utrecht, December 18, 1878.

Two Kafirs posted about Spies' Farm on the Blood River arrived here 18th instant, to report that the Zulus are being assembled at the King's kraal. One of these men himself received the order to assemble 17th December. Supposed that they are being assembled to consider the High Commissioner's message.

(Signed) E. Woodgate,
Captain, D. S. O.

Enclosure 4. in No. 4.

Special Border Agent of Umroti to Officer Commanding Greytown Column.

December 22, 1878.

Intelligence has just reached me that Cetywayo has summoned his regiments to the annual Umkosi dance, and that his men have orders to leave all ornaments and appear with arms and ammunition only.

This is only done when they are required for active service. My informant is one of Bishop Schreuder's Christian converts living in the Zulu country.

I believe his report can be relied on.

Kindly forward this intelligence to the Officer Commanding at Helpmakaar.

I have done so to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor at Pietermaritzburg.

(Signed) Eustace Faunin,
Special Border Agent.

Officer Commanding Greytown to Deputy Adjutant-General.

Greytown, December 23, 1878.

This information was at once forwarded to Officer Commanding Helpmakaar under the circumstances, as I consider that his Excellency the Lieutenant-General might not wish for any delay in the march of the four companies, 2/24th, for Helpmakaar; they will start to-morrow morning, the weather and state of roads permitting, with the head quarters under Major Dunbar.

The 2nd company, under Major Black, from Potts Spruit, arrived here on Saturday last.

(Signed) H. Degacher,
Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, Greytown.

This was not sent specially last night, as only one messenger could be found who was sent to Helpmakaar. It was known besides that a Despatch had been sent to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure 5. in No. 4.

(Private.)

Sir, Untunjambili, December 23, 1878.

Supposing that it will be of interest to hear what effect the award and ultimatum has had on the mind of the Zulu grandees, and what decision it is likely to lead to, I beg to communicate for the information of His Excellency the following facts of words and measures:—

1. Facts of words; four of my Christian natives of Entumeni, accompanied to the meeting at the Lower Tugela the 12 Zulu izinduna, of whom Umundula, the brother of the former chief induna, Umasipula, is of some note; they attended the transactions of that meeting and returned with the said izinduna, and finally had an interview with the izinduna at the royal kraal Isizwaka, near Entumeni, so they had ample opportunity of observing

how the effects of the award and ultimatum amongst Zulus shaped itself, and matured up to the 20th of December, and it is this: the Zulu grandees agree to all the terms of the award and ultimatum, with the exception of A, the permission for the young men to marry at pleasure, and C, the disbanding of the army, as both are essential and indispensable for them as a nation of invincible warriors, who have conquered and will conquer other tribes; if they were to give in on those two points, they would lower their country to the debased level of Amakafula (Natal Kafirs) to be isanyobe (spoiled maize out of holes in the cattle fold) instead of umbila o unzanzato, therefore, they will fight rather than give in on those points. It might have been surmised that the permission for the young men to marry at pleasure would have won the powerful hot-blooded fraction of the army for the ultimatum, but I always feared that the influence of their military traditions, and the strenuous efforts of the old soldiers would counteract and so far it hitherto is known these very young men or soldiers are equally eager to keep up that part of their military system as essential to their national military power, prowess, and renown.

2. Facts of measures:—

The King has called up to the great national feast all the able-bodied men, to be equipped with guns, spears carried in quiver, and small shields (Amaran), but to leave behind the Amakoba (cow tails); this measure means "war." He has, however, declared and he still declares that he will not commence war, but wait until he actually is attacked before he enters on a defensive campaign.

Whether there now after all will be a split or division among existing conflicting interests is very problematical, before battle and possible reverses.

There is a report that deserves some notice and credit, viz., the Princes Ulhamu and Ulsiwetu are said to have expressed themselves to the King something like this:—If you are sorry (roukela) for your cattle and do not like to part with them, then rather than have our country spoiled by war with the White we Zulus prefer to give you out of our own cattle, in order to pay taxes to the Government, as it is done in Natal; it is better for us to be subjects of the Government than have everything at stake in a war, over the end (ukuzina) of which we are not masters.

If the road still is open up to the King, and any of my people venture to go to him, I have given them a message soliciting his aid in giving me some of his people to take meanwhile care of my station, as I cannot longer prevail upon my congregation to keep together when such gloomy prospects surround them on all sides. I also have hinted to them, if they get up to the King, and find an opportunity of dropping a few words of sincere advice into his ears, to tell him from me, that if he really wishes to consult his own and his people's and land's true and enduring interest, he ought unconditionally to submit to the terms of the award and ultimatum.

If and when these my people return from the King and the national feast (umkosi) next week, I may hear the final decision the nation has arrived at, and could communicate with you, if I only knew whether you wished it.

I have, &c.

W. Littleton, Esq,
Private Secretary to his Excellency
the High Commissioner.

(Signed) H. C. Schreuder.

Enclosure 6. in No. 4.

Sir, Zululand, December 24, 1878.

I have the honour to write and state that some messengers of mine, sent to the King a few days ago, returned to-day, and from his tone, he evidently does not attach sufficient importance on the time stipulated; the cattle are still being collected, and it will be impossible now for them to be up to time.

May I beg that my own people and cattle will be respected, as it will be impossible for me to get some of them out of the country without causing an alarm just now and a rush of refugees to Natal; my men would be willing to join in with any force should they be required.

I have made some arrangements for my family and cattle, close to the Tugela, crossing over Natal. The King sent me word that he had sent some messengers to the Governor.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Secretary for Native Affairs.

(Signed) John Dunn.

REPORT of ACTING SECRETARY for NATIVE AFFAIRS on Letter of Mr. JOHN DUNN of the 24th instant.

I THINK Mr. Dunn is quite correct in what he says about the Zulus; what he says regarding himself and property deserves the favourable consideration of the Government.

(Signed) MITCHELL,
For Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

Office, Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal,
December 30, 1878.

In the event of the General deciding to enter the Zulu country, I think it would be a mistake to enter the country in small detachments, as I do not think the King will break his forces, unless he heard of more than one strong force coming in at the same time. I think I should advise the advance to be made in two strong columns, with harassing parties on each flank and centre of country, one main column to enter the country about Fort Buckingham and the other at Rorke's Drift, on the Buffalo, the smaller of harassing parties to follow a day after the main column, one at the lower drift of the Tugela, one between the main column, and one from about Utrecht or Luneberg, the main column to make straight for the Ondini, where the King is.

Before entering, I should advise that Commissaries be sent in on pretext of seeing their friends, and for them to spread word that all people found in quiet occupation of their kraals should not be molested, as the quarrel was not with the people but with the King. I think a great deal of bloodshed would be avoided by acting so. If the entry is made in small detachments I am sure he would try to fight each separately in succession.

Enclosure 7. in No. 4.

SIR, Buffalo River, December 27, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that yesterday a Zulu headman, or petty Chief, called Tusasau, who lives nearly opposite to this place, and with whom I have for some years had friendly relations, sent one of his wives through the river to inform me that Cetywayo had sent to fetch all the best of the cattle belonging to the tribe of Sirayo, and among others had taken five head from him. These are to be offered to the British Government. Tusasau further informed me that Sirayo had earnestly requested the King to allow him and his tribe to make a raid into Natal. He said the English wished to kill him, and most of the Zulus had the same wish. He could but die once, and did not care how soon, if he had his revenge on the white men. The King told him that it was not his policy to begin the war, but promised that neither he nor his sons should be delivered up. The intention is to send the cattle to the Lower Tugela Drift, and the same day to collect his army. If the cattle are returned he will know that the intention of the Government is war, and he will be ready for them. Tusasau further desired his wife to tell me that if I saw an "Impi" near the border I must not be alarmed, as it was probable that the Zulus would have a fight among themselves, but they would not cross the Buffalo.

I am well aware that the idea of making a raid into this part of Natal has long been a favourite one with the tribe of Sirayo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN ROBSON, J.P.,
Border Agent.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary,
Maritzburg.

Helpmakaar, December 28, 1878.

I FORWARD copies of reports just received for the information of his Excellency the General Commanding. I have sent out videttes to ascertain if there is any truth in the report that there are bodies of men assembled on the other side.

(Signed) R. GLYN,
Colonel Commanding Column, Helpmakaar.

Deputy Adjutant-General,
Pietermaritzburg.

Buffalo River, December 27, Midnight.

My police have just awaked me to say that bodies of Zulus are lying along the river apparently with the intention of crossing. They say there are ten bodies, reaching from near the junction of the Buffalo and Blood Rivers to below Rorke's Drift; my police heard from some Zulus yesterday that some people (they say police) have been into Zululand to say that the Zulus might daily expect an attack from this side, therefore they have assembled. The whole of the cattle and women belonging to the tribe of Sirayo were sent away yesterday. I send this off in case you may think proper to take any action in the matter. I will try and send you more reliable tidings in the morning.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) John Robson, J.P.
Border Agent.

Major Dartnell,
Commanding Mounted Police and Volunteers.

Enclosure 8. in No. 4.

Sir, Zululand, December 30, 1878.

I have the honor to write for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and state that to-day I have received a message from Cetywayo the Zulu King. He has now quite changed his tone, and now is determined to fight, as he says that from what he hears of the forces that are to be sent against him he can easily eat them up one after the other.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. Dunn.

The Hon. the Secretary for Native Affairs.

Enclosure 9. in No. 4.

Telegram from the Administrator and Border Agent, Lower Tugela, viâ Stanger, to Private Secretary, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Pietermaritzburg.

December 31, 1878.

Just received letter from Dunn; he has received message from King; King quite changed his tone, intends to fight, says he can eat up troops like pieces of meat, and then not have enough; he knows English depend on Amaswazi, but are mistaken.

Dunn's messengers hear Sikukuni will attack above, when fighting begins; most likely when column crosses, King will send down army to meet it; Dunn crosses on 2nd.

No. 5.

Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart. (Received Feb. 6, 1878.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
Sir, January 6, 1879.

Since my last Despatch by the mail of the 30th* the apparent attitude of the Zulu King has materially changed.

2. He has never acknowledged in any formal manner, by indunas of the usual rank, the receipt of the Lieutenant-Governor's messages delivered to his indunas on the 11th December. But on the 18th Mr. John Dunn wrote, saying, that he had conveyed the purport of the Lieutenant-Governor's messages to Cetywayo, who had replied by sending a message to his Excellency to the effect that he would comply with the demands for the surrender of the offenders and payment of fines in the cases of violation of British territory, but required more time, and would consider the other messages in his council.

3. It speedily became clear, however, that this was simply an evasion to gain time. The King sent various messages more or less direct to Messrs. Fynney, Fynn, and Rudolph, British officials on the frontier, urging that more time should be given him to collect cattle, but more direct to the Lieutenant-Governor in a form that would pledge him to do so. Then it was added that "more cattle than were required for payment of

* No. 60 of [C.-2222] of February 1879.

" the fines must be collected, as the King would tender an additional number in lieu of " surrendering the offenders." But the 20 days allowed for compliance with the demands for redress elapsed on the 1st without compliance, or even any direct and formal acknowledgment of the demands. Frontier indunas of the King, who had been ordered to collect stolen cattle for restoration to Utrecht farmers, were specially directed by messengers from the King to return them to the plunderers, " as the King meant to fight and not to give back cattle." The army, with the exception of the frontier regiments who were ordered to watch the border, was summoned to the annual " Mealie Feast " at the Royal Kraal; but not in the usual court dress. They were to leave their ornaments and badges behind them, and to come with only their arms and ammunition prepared for immediate active service. Killing on charges of witchcraft was reported as having been recommenced in rather an ostentatious manner, as if to strike terror. Three kraals were reported to Mr. Fannin, Border Agent, as " eaten up," the men, women and children of the accused having, it was stated, been destroyed.

4. On the 30th December, Mr. J. Dunn wrote to the Secretary for Native Affairs, saying he had received a message from the King, " he has quite changed his tone, and " now is determined to fight, as he says that, from what he hears of the forces that are " to be sent against him he can easily eat them up, one after the other."

5. It was added that Mr. Dunn had been told he might himself, if he pleased, " sit still " close to the border, and " the Zulus should not harm him.' But he crossed the Tugela with his cattle as soon as he could after the 31st, and offered the services of his well-armed Zulu followers to fight against Cetywayo.

6. Orders have been given to disarm them, and send them, with other Zulu refugees, to the rear.

7. As separately reported, after the expiration of the 20 days allowed to the King, on the 11th of December, to comply with the demands for surrender of offenders and payment of fines, without any signs of compliance, the further prosecution of the demands of Her Majesty's Government was placed by me in the hands of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa, and a notification, of which copy is enclosed, was issued (in English and in Dutch), warning all concerned of the impending state of war.

8. The information received from Zululand regarding the state of feeling and opinion there is necessarily scanty and imperfect. It is evident that the King has not wanted good and honest advisers of rank and influence, who urged him to comply at once with the reasonable demands of the British Government, and to consider the useful reforms required in his own administration. But warlike counsels have evidently prevailed, though it is still doubtful whether the King will await attack in his own kraal, or when attacked retire northward across the Pongolo, as Dingaan and Moselikatze did, or attempt a raid into Natal territory, which it is stated has been strongly urged on him, and which would certainly be the course most inconvenient to us, but which could not safely be attempted whilst the Tegula is, as at present, in flood.

9. On the other hand, many messages have been indirectly received from influential Chiefs and headmen, expressive of their desire to " sit still," or to join the English Government.

10. Cetywayo will probably endeavour, by all means in his power, to prevent our invading his country till the mealie crop is ripe, and it is late this year.

11. The only overt acts reported, beyond assemblages of forces watching the frontier, has been the appearance of several well-armed Zulu " impis " trying the fords. One of them is reported to have fired at a headman in his mealie field, on this side of the river.

I have, &c.
(Singed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Enclosure in No. 5.

NOTIFICATION by HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Pietermaritzburg, Natal, January 4, 1879.

TOWARDS the latter end of July last two large armed bodies of Zulus, retainers of the Chief Sirayo, and led by three of that Chief's sons, and by one of his brothers, entered Natal, and took away by force and violence out of Natal territory two refugee women from two different kraals, one of them belonging to a Border Police Guard of the Magis-

trate of the Umsinga Division. The women were dragged across the border into Zululand, and there, it is reported, murdered.

2. These two separate acts of outrage were promptly brought to the notice of Cetywayo on the 1st and the 16th August by separate messengers from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and explanation and redress by the surrender of the offenders for trial by the Colonial courts of law, were then and afterwards demanded from Cetywayo.

3. In the place of complying with this just demand, Cetywayo replied excusing the outrage as a boyish excess, and offering a sum of money as a solatium for the violation of British territory.

4. This offer of money was declined, with a repetition of the demand for the surrender of the offenders, but they were not surrendered, and on 11th December a final demand was made on the Zulu King, in the name of the High Commissioner, that the three sons and brother of Sirayo should be given up for trial, and that a fine of cattle for non-compliance with the demands already made should be paid within 20 days from the date of demand.

5. Those 20 days expired on the 31st December 1878, and the demand not having been complied with, the High Commissioner entertains no hope that it is the intention of the Zulu King to afford the redress Her Majesty's Government has a right to demand.

6. It appears clear to the High Commissioner, from Cetywayo's omission to comply with his demands, that the Zulu King's intentions are not friendly to the British Government, nor calculated to ensure the preservation of peace between the Zulus and the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty in South Africa.

7. I therefore hereby make known, for the information of Cetywayo and all the Zulu people, that I have placed the further prosecution of this and all other demands for redress and reparation in the hands of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, commanding Her Majesty's forces in South Africa, with a request that his Excellency will take such steps as he finds necessary to protect the British territory from further aggression, and to compel the Zulu King to comply with all the demands made on him, whether for satisfaction due to the British Government, or for the greater security of British territory, or for the better and more peaceable government of the Zulu people.

8. Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford will carefully notify to all Zulu Chiefs and people who may come within his reach for making such communication, that the demands of the British Government are made on Cetywayo as much in the interest of the Zulu people as of the English nation, and that till the 11th January the Lieutenant-General will be willing to receive and to transmit to me any intimation of the unqualified and complete acceptance by Cetywayo of all the terms offered him on the 11th December.

9. If such intimation of unqualified and complete acceptance be received by the Lieutenant-General before the 11th January, no further hostile movements will be made unless they should be rendered necessary by the action of the Zulus forces. Lord Chelmsford will place his own forces in such positions as shall best ensure compliance with all his demands, and up to the 11th January he will be ready to consider any steps the Zulu King may propose to take for the purpose of giving real and permanent effect to the demands of the British Government.

10. But unless such unqualified and complete acceptance of the terms imposed be intimated to the Lieutenant-General on or before the expiration of the time specified, namely, the close of the 11th January, the Lieutenant-General will no longer be bound by any of the terms offered on the 11th December for Cetywayo's acceptance, but will take such measures as the forces at his command will permit for compelling the submission of the Zulu King, always bearing in mind that the British Government has no quarrel with the Zulu nation, and that the future good government and well being of the Zulus is as much an object of the steps now taken as the safety and protection of the British territories of Natal and the Transvaal.

11. And I do hereby warn all residents and inhabitants of Her Majesty's possessions and Colonies in South Africa, of whatever race, to be guided by this my notification, and I do strictly charge and command all Her Majesty's officers, ministers, and subjects, and all others whom it may concern, to govern themselves, and to act accordingly, and to take due notice of, and to pay due regard to, the tenor hereof.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

No. 6.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 11, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
SIR, January 10, 1879.

IN continuation of my Despatch of the 10th December last,* replying to yours of the 17th October† last, regarding the spirit in which the Zulus were to be dealt with, I have the honour to inform you that, having forwarded to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal a copy of my Despatch to your address, I received from him a Memorandum, of which I enclose a copy, together with a copy of a note upon it, which I have since addressed to his Excellency.

There is no present practical difference of opinion between us which could affect the course to be taken, but it is only just to Sir Henry Bulwer that Her Majesty's Government should be aware of the precise extent to which his Excellency shared the views I recorded on a subject of so much importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1. in No. 6.

MEMORANDUM.

December 16, 1878.

1. I HAVE not seen the Secretary of State's Despatch of the 17th October,† but I presume that what is said in it regarding a spirit of forbearance and reasonable compromise in meeting the Zulus is said with special reference to the question of the "disputed territory." This, in point of fact, so far as I am aware, has been the only question known to the Secretary of State as pending between the Government and the Zulus.

2. With respect to that question, which is now disposed of, there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that it was a question which called for the exercise of forbearance on our part, because of the manner in which, in former years, and long before the Transvaal became British territory, we had committed ourselves with regard to it; because we had most unfortunately, and always to the danger of the peace of this country, allowed it to remain an open question between the late Transvaal Republic and the Zulus for 16 years, when we might without difficulty, at any time, have compelled its settlement, and it was our duty to compel it; because we had always understood, and were led to believe, that it was a question in which the right was rather on the Zulu than on the Transvaal side; because we had led the Zulus to understand that the question was properly one for adjustment by peaceable means, and to expect that it would be so adjusted; because we had used our influence with them for years to prevent their attempting its settlement by other means; because we had held out to them the hope that it would form the subject of investigation and inquiry, and that we would see right done to them; and because, under those circumstances, to adopt a different course when the Transvaal came under the British Government, and to allow ourselves, without holding the inquiry which we had so long promised, to be involved in a war with the people to whom we had promised it, for the sake of the piece of land which, so long as it was the Transvaal Republic claimed it, we were willing enough to believe belonged of right to the Zulus, and on account of the very question in which we had been holding out the prospect of a peaceable settlement, and the delay in the settlement of which was very much our own fault, would have been, to say the least, as deplorable a termination as can well be conceived.

3. For these reasons, therefore, however wrong the action of the Zulu King in respect of the disputed territory has been during the past twelve months, yet his action being very much the consequence of our conduct, and of misapprehensions arising out of that conduct, our past dealings with him in the matter, if there was no other cause, entailed upon us the necessity for exercising as much forbearance as possible, until by the long

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* No. 45 of [C.-2222] of 1878. † No. 92A of [C.-2220] of 1878.

promised investigation we could ascertain the real merits of what we had for so many years been admitting to be a question requiring investigation.

4. It may also be said that on account of its long standing, and of the other circumstances attending it, the dispute was one which might fairly be made, if there was any doubt as to its merits, the subject for a reasonable compromise between the British Government and the Zulu King.

5. But that question excepted, I am not aware of any which calls for the special exercise of forbearance or requires compromise. So far as the King's claims of sovereignty have concerned the land lying between the Buffalo and Pongolo Rivers, and known as the "disputed territory," there has been need for us, for the reasons above given, to use every forbearance in dealing with him, and need for our giving up to him and the Zulu people whatever might be found upon inquiry to be justly belonging to them. Beyond those rivers, however, there can be no territorial claim advanced by the King which would be entitled to receive from us the same forbearance, if he should endeavour to give effect to his claim by any show or exercise of force, or by any authoritative action, and none which would, so far as I am aware, justify us in coming to any compromise with him, because just claim of possession to territory beyond the Pongolo, we know, as far as we know anything, he has not; and therefore to endeavour to settle any such claim made by him, by means of a compromise, would be an act not only of weakness on our part, but of injustice to those others, whether British subjects or neighbouring native races, whose interests might be involved.

6. With respect to our general relations with the Zulus and our general dealings with them, we have never acted otherwise than in a friendly spirit and in a friendly manner; and it is, at the same time, but due to the Zulus to say, that until the Transvaal troubles came their conduct towards us was also, as I believe, never otherwise than friendly.

7. Since the war in the Transvaal in 1876, and the subsequent annexation of that country, and mainly in consequence of these events, our relations have become less friendly, and of late (during the past twelve months) they have been, as it is well known, greatly strained.

8. The extension of British responsibility caused by the annexation of the Transvaal, and the greatly changed position which we consequently occupy in South Africa, obliges that out future relations with the Zulu King should be placed on a more definite footing than has hitherto been the case, or has hitherto been thought necessary. The time has come for doing this, and the time has come, it is also considered, for dealing with the disregard that has hitherto been shown by the King for the promises made by him to us at his coronation, and which were formally proclaimed by the representative of the Natal Government to the Zulu nation, and for exacting the due performance of them in future. These promises provided for the greater security of human life in the Zulu country, and they were conditions laid down by us and accepted by the King in return for the countenance given to him by the Government in taking part in his installation.

9. The High Commissioner has judged it to be necessary, for reasons of the greatest moment to the welfare of this portion of South Africa, to place the condition of affairs in the Zulu country, and our relations with the Zulu King and people, on a more satisfactory basis than that on which they now are; and I entirely concur in his Excellency's decision on this point, as also in the conditions which he has laid down, and which have been communicated to the Zulu King, and which are conditions for the better government of the Zulu people and for their great advantage, and conditions also which it may be said are indispensable for securing peace in this part of South Africa.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

Enclosure 2. in No. 6.

NOTE on the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S MEMORANDUM of the 16th December 1878.

January 9, 1879.

I THOUGHT that the Secretary of State's Despatch of the 17th October last had accompanied my reply when I sent it to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor. I have since communicated the Despatch to his Excellency, who will have seen from it that the Secretary of State did not confine his remarks to the question of disputed territory, and was fully aware of other important questions as pending between the British Government and the Zulus.

I am afraid it is premature to regard the question of disputed territory as "now disposed of." It was certainly one which called for "the exercise of forbearance on our part," but we should not forget that forbearance was also in justice to be expected from as well as towards the Zulus.

His Excellency has clearly put the case from the Zulu point of view; but it is well to bear in mind what may be said from the Transvaal point of view also. So regarded it may be justly said that forbearance was required from the Zulus, because the Boers had come to the country, then a wilderness owing to Zulu inroads, but almost at the same time as Chaka's Zulu hordes; because the Zulus had established no regular form of government which could make the immigrant Boers feel that the Zulus had any right from priority of conquest; because the Boers, who were at first received with deference and respect as having turned Moselikatse in his career of conquest and driven him northwards, were subsequently made the victims of unparalleled treachery and barbarity; because, smarting under these injuries, the Boers defeated Dingaan and destroyed his power, setting up Panda in his stead in a position of clear subordination and subjection to themselves; because, when the difficulties of the Boers increased by their indefinite expansion northwards and westwards, the Zulus throve and recovered power by their proximity to the non-aggressive Colony of Natal; because, after for some years playing off Natal and the Transvaal against each other, Panda, in the latter years of his reign, leant more decidedly upon the British Colony as being the stronger and less aggressive of his neighbours; because Cetywayo, then the most powerful of Panda's sons and claiming to be his heir and successor, promised to the Transvaal Boers a portion of land, in consideration of their giving up to him two rival pretenders to the Zulu succession; because, when the more formidable of these rivals had again escaped from Zululand, the legal ratification of the cession by the Zulu nation was evaded both by Panda and subsequently by Cetywayo, and because the flaw thus created by Cetywayo in the Transvaal title has prevented the Boers, when the case came to arbitration, from securing what was undoubtedly promised to them by the present King of the Zulus, when he was anxious to conclude a bargain with them; because, after breaking his promises and evading his engagements, he endeavoured, by a mixture of flattery and bullying, to obtain from the British Government what has since been conceded only from a punctilious and scrupulous sense of justice.

All this might, I think, be as justly said in putting the Transvaal case, as what the Lieutenant-Governor states in putting the Zulu case. I am afraid the more the subject is investigated, the clearer it will become that, had we not unfortunately become, ourselves, interested parties in the case, the Zulu King would not have obtained judgment in his favour in any civilized court of justice and equity.

I am anxious to do no injustice to the Zulus, but I cannot concur in the Lieutenant-Governor's remark, "that until the Transvaal troubles came their conduct towards us "was never otherwise than friendly."

This may perhaps be truly said of the Zulus, if they can be separated from their King, but certainly it cannot be said of their King Cetywayo.

Up to Panda's death, and up to our confirmation of Cetywayo as his successor, the conduct of the Zulu Kings was not perhaps unfriendly; they relied upon the friendship of the Natal Government for support against the Transvaal; and while the Transvaal was strong, any act which could provoke the Natal Government would have been suicidal folly on the part of the Zulus, but beyond acknowledging that they took care to commit no such folly, I can see nothing "friendly" in the conduct of Cetywayo between his coronation and the commencement of the Transvaal troubles. Nothing could be more friendly, well timed, and judicious than the Lieutenant-Governor's remonstrance when he heard of the unparalleled acts of barbarity committed by Cetywayo's order in the butchery of a number of young women, in flagrant contravention of his coronation promises (*vidê* pp. 199–216 of Parliamentary Papers of April 1877); and nothing could exceed the insolent brutality of Cetywayo's savage reply, but this reply was sent in October 1876, several months before the annexation of the Transvaal, and the only connexion of the Transvaal with Cetywayo's reply is to be found in the fact that the Transvaal was then certainly weak, and that Cetywayo had persuaded himself that Natal was weak also, and that now, possessed of guns, he was superior to all the white men united, and could drive them out of the country.

Holding this view I can only agree to a modified extent in the views stated by the Lieutenant-Governor in paragraph 7. No doubt the war in the Transvaal in 1876, and the subsequent annexation of that country, have had much to do with altering our former

relations with the Zulus and rendering them less friendly than formerly, but I cannot think this result was mainly in consequence of those events. Had there been any real friendliness in the Zulu ruler's former feeling towards us, nothing that has occurred in the Transvaal during the last two years need have altered his feelings.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

No. 7.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR M. E. HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 11, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg,
SIR, January 12, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to transmit copy of a Despatch which his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding in South Africa is sending by this mail to the Secretary of State for War.

The General, on the 7th, had received reports from Colonel Evelyn Wood of the intelligence which had reached him from Swaziland up to the 1st of this month.

Captain MacLeod had been assured by persons lately from Cetywayo's kraal, where they had seen the King and his brother Oham, that it was their intention to make an irruption into Swaziland, and to prepare a place of refuge in the Lebombo mountains should they be driven out of Zululand. Captain MacLeod had seen the Swazi King (on the 24th December), who had promised, if supported by British troops, to oppose any advance of the Zulus in that direction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Enclosure in No. 7.

From the LIEUTENANT-GENERAL COMMANDING IN SOUTH AFRICA to the Right Hon. the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

Head-quarter Camp, Helpmakaar,
SIR, January 9, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to forward for your information the enclosed notification* published by his Excellency the High Commissioner, together with a copy of his letter enclosed to me, by which it will be seen the British Government declare itself in a state of war with the King of the Zulus.

Since the date of my last Despatch I have personally visited Durban, the base of supplies and port of disembarkation; thence I proceeded to the Lower Tugela, inspecting the various posts and troops on that line and the forces of which formed the column under Colonel Pearson, this will be known as No. 1 column.

I have not yet received intelligence from that officer as to his movements since the 2nd January, but I instructed him to be deliberate in his movements, as from many reasons it is not desirable to bring on any collision before the full completion of the 30 days allowed Cetywayo for the acceptance of our demands.

2. I visited the native contingent assembled in the neighbourhood of Krantz Kop under Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R.E. (known as No. 2 column), that officer reported yesterday that an excellent spirit pervaded his native battalions, which in a few days will be complete in numbers.

I had always intended this column to act in a defensive manner until our advance into Zululand was made and our footing there well established.

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* Enclosures not sent.

From my personal observations in this district (Umsinga), and from the information I have received, I have issued orders to this officer to move two regiments of his command to this direction. It would appear that portions of the Zulu forces on the frontier between Rorke's Drift and Kranz Kop have received orders to raid into Natal; this portion of the frontier is native location, and there is therefore a paucity of white persons to assist in its defence. I trust that the presence of portions of No. 2 column in this part of the border will give confidence to our own Natives and deter such raids being made.

3. Halting one day at Greytown to communicate with his Excellency the High Commissioner I arrived here on the 4th instant, where the head-quarters of Colonel Glyn's column (known as No. 3) is at present located.

I visited the same day the various camps which extend down to Rorke's drift, where this column will probably cross into Zululand on the 11th inst.

4. On the night of the 6th information came in from Colonel Wood, V.C., C.B., that his column (known as No. 4) has crossed the Blood River from Utrecht that day, and was at Bemba's Kop (*vide* Durnford's map). He is aware of the date of the advance of No. 3 column.

5. The weather has been very wet, which has considerably increased my difficulties of transport and the passage of stores up to this place.

6. Usirayo, the Zulu Chief before referred to in my Despatches, resides opposite Rorke's Drift, and there seems to be every probability that he will attack No. 3 column on its crossing the Buffalo. I have directed Colonel Wood to co-operate, if possible, with the movement of this column, which will before a further advance clear this Chief from the district. Colonel Wood, from whom I have just heard, is about 25 miles from this point; his information confirms my impression that Sirayo will, with all the forces at his disposal, attack No. 3 column.

7. The disembarkation of the reinforcements is going on satisfactorily at Durban, and if the weather does not impede their movements I hope before a week is past to have No. 1 column reinforced by six companies of the 99th and a company of Royal Engineers, and No. 3 column by three companies of 1/24th and a company of Royal Engineers, and later on five companies of the 2/4th Regiment will move to this spot. Greytown, Pietermaritzburg, Stanger, and Durban being also garrisoned by single companies of Imperial infantry.

8. Colonel Pearson (No. 1 column) has been instructed to push on at once to Ekow after crossing the border.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD.

No. 8.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 11, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
SIR, January 13, 1879.

IN my Despatch of the 6th January * I submitted copies of a notification which I had issued on the 4th of January, as soon as I had ascertained that none of our frontier officials had received any intimation of the Zulu King's intention to comply with my demand that the Zulu offenders in recent cases of violation of British territory should be given up for trial within 20 days from the date of demand on the 11th December.

In that notification I had placed the further prosecution of all our demands on the Zulus in the hands of the Lieutenant-General Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa, and I was prepared at the end of the additional 10 days, which had been allowed the Zulus for the consideration of further demands for future good government and security, to have issued a further proclamation, notifying the final termination of the time within which we were willing to have accepted the King's unconditional compliance with all our demands.

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* No. 7.

Mr. Attorney-General Gallwey was good enough to draw up the draft of such a proclamation; but I found he more than doubted its necessity, and considered that the notification of the 4th January was amply sufficient notice to all concerned of the state of war which has unhappily supervened. Under such circumstances the issue of any further proclamation could only be regarded as a mischievous superfluity.

I enclose a copy of a memorandum which I have thought it convenient to issue to all authorities who might require to know succinctly the steps by which the present tate of our relations with the Zulu King and people had been brought about.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 8.

MEMORANDUM by His Excellency THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

1. It may be convenient at the present moment, on the eve of hostilities with the Zulu King, Cetywayo, to review succinctly the course of events which have led to the present state of our relations with the Zulu King and people.

2. Since the first establishment of the Colony of Natal and of the Transvaal Republic, the attitude of the military power in Zululand has been a subject of unceasing solicitude to the Governments of both those territories.

3. The emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony, who founded the Transvaal Republic, had, in the year 1840, been victorious in a war caused by the treacherous and cruel massacre of a large number of their countrymen by Dingaan, then King of the Zulus. The war ended in the death of Dingaan, who was succeeded by his brother, Panda, the ally of the emigrant farmers. They assisted him to obtain supreme power in Zululand; and he remained till his death on terms more or less friendly to them and to the Government of the Transvaal.

4. By the annexation of the Transvaal Republic to the British territories in South Africa on the 12th April 1877, all rights and responsibilities of the Transvaal Republic devolved on the Government of Her Britannic Majesty.

5. The Government of the British Colony of Natal had from the first been friendly to the Zulu nation, and during the lifetime of the Zulu King, Panda, the Government of Natal had rarely found occasion to complain of any unfriendly act on the part of the Zulus.

6. When Panda died in 1872 he was succeeded by his son, Cetywayo. The peaceable succession of Cetywayo was mainly due to his recognition by the British Government of Natal some years before, when there were many rival candidates for the succession, and to the presence of the British representative at his installation. Cetywayo then made many solemn promises and engagements, which were formally published to his people, and accepted by the British Government as guarantees for the better and more humane government of Zululand, and for the greater security of peace with all his neighbours.

7. None of these promises have been since fulfilled; the cruelties and barbarisms which deformed the internal administration of Zululand in Panda's reign have been aggravated during the reign of Cetywayo, and his relations with his neighbours have been conducted in a spirit fatal to peace and security beyond the Zulu border.

8. To the great detriment and grievous oppression of his people, he has maintained a formidable military despotism, which has become a standing menace to all his neighbours. Its organization and armament have been accompanied by the advancement of claims formally put forward to countries which had once been overrun by his predecessors, but which have now for many years been under other sovereignty.

9. Cetywayo has at the same time formally and repeatedly requested the consent of the British Government to wars of aggression, which he proposed, not for any purpose of self-defence, but simply to initiate his young soldiers in bloodshed, and to revive a system of unprovoked territorial aggression by the Zulus, which had for many years been laid aside.

10. There was but one direction in which there was the slightest excuse for any disagreement with his neighbours. On the western boundary of Zululand, between the Buffalo and Pongolo rivers, a large tract of land was claimed by the Zulus, which had long been occupied as Transvaal territory by Transvaal subjects, in virtue of a cession which the Transvaal Government alleged had been made to them by the Zulus many years previous.

11. The Zulus had repeatedly requested the Natal Government to arbitrate in this matter. The Natal Government had promised to do so; meantime, the annexation of the Transvaal brought a peaceful solution of this dispute still more within the power of the Natal Government, which had throughout shown a most friendly disposition to the Zulus.

12. But in the meantime, since his installation, the tone of Cetywayo in his communications with the Natal Government had essentially altered, notably in reply to a remonstrance addressed to him by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, regarding the barbarous massacre of a number of young women by the King's order. Cetywayo addressed the Government of Natal in terms of unprecedented insolence and defiance; affirming his irresponsibility to the Natal Government for anything he might please to do, denying his solemn promises at his installation, and declaring his intention of shedding blood in future on a much greater scale than in the massacres referred to in the Lieutenant-Governor's remonstrance.

13. These declarations, made in 1876, were followed up by a course of intimidation pursued towards European missionaries, Germans, Norwegians, and English, who had been long settled in the country, with the full permission of Cetywayo's predecessor. Three at least of the missionary converts were on various pretexts killed, ostensibly by the King's order, and certainly by his tacit permission and sufferance; others were threatened and hunted out to be killed; and the missionaries and their remaining adherents were driven to fly from the country for safety. It is only justice to the missionaries to note that there was no accusation of disloyalty or of misbehaviour to the Zulu King, nor of any other sufficient reason for the King wishing to withdraw the permission given to them many years before, to live and teach in the country.

14. Some months subsequent to the annexation of the Transvaal, when Cetywayo had had ample time to realize the altered relations of that territory with the British Government, he ordered a military force to occupy the territory he claimed between the Buffalo and the Pongolo, to build their usual military encampments on the advanced border, and to serve in his name peremptory notices to quit upon the peaceful inhabitants, European and native, far beyond the limits of his previous sovereignty.

15. These notices were emphasized by raids to the north of the Pongolo made from Zulu territory by Chiefs under Cetywayo's protection, who, after murdering many persons, carried off others, with their cattle, as captives and booty, and returned into Zululand.

16. These proceedings did not deter the Government of Natal from its attempt to do justice in the matter of the disputed boundary.

17. A settlement had been previously attempted by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, long and well known to the Zulus as one of their best friends in Natal. He was then administering the Government of the Transvaal, and proceeded to the Zulu frontier with a view to come to an amicable arrangement with the Zulus regarding the disputed territory. His advances were, however, received with very scant courtesy, and, in reply to his invitation to discuss the matter, a peremptory demand was made to him in the King's name for the immediate cession of all that the Zulus claimed.

18. Cetywayo, however, ultimately accepted the suggestion of the Natal Government that the matter was one for inquiry, and at his request the Natal Government consented to appoint a Commission to inquire into the merits of the dispute, with a view to its settlement by arbitration. The Commission devoted some weeks to the inquiry, but the Zulus declined to produce evidence of their own claims, which extended several hundred miles beyond their actual border. They gave evidence, however, to rebut the claim of the Transvaal Government to the land in dispute, between the Buffalo and Pongolo rivers, and the Commission ultimately decided that Cetywayo's cession of a tract of land, relied on by the Transvaal claim, was promised when he was only heir apparent, and that the cession had not been subsequently formally ratified by his father, Panda, nor by the Great Council of the Zulu nation. The Commission, therefore, decided that the greater portion of the land in dispute between the two rivers, of

which the Zulus had lately taken forcible possession, had never ceased to belong of right to them.

19. This verdict of the Commissioners was founded on their view of the evidence before them, tendered in support of the Transvaal claim of right and occupation. As relating to a question of the sufficiency of evidence, the verdict of the Commissioners was accepted and embodied in the High Commissioner's final award which confirmed the Commissioners' decision, and the territory, to be ceded in consequence, was ordered to be demarcated, and its sovereignty to be confirmed to the Zulus. Those private rights of bonâ fide settlers which had grown up during the Transvaal occupation, and which could not in justice be abrogated by any change of sovereignty, were reserved and protected under guarantee of the British Government. All Zulu claims to sovereignty north of the Pongolo, and west of the Blood River, were at the same time negatived. The High Commissioner's award was carefully explained to the Zulu King, with a detailed history of the whole case, in a message from the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, delivered on the 11th December 1878, to envoys specially deputed by the Zulu King for the purpose of receiving it.

20. In the interval, however, between the decision of the Commissioners and its confirmation by the High Commissioner, occurred several events which have materially affected the relations of the British Government with the Zulus. Repeated notices to quit had continued to be sent in the King's name to European subjects of the Transvaal long settled north of the Pongolo, within what had been for years recognized as the boundary between the Transvaal and Zululand. The notices were enforced by raids into Swaziland of the character already described, and there was every apparent indication of an intention to repeat, north of the Pongolo, the same aggressive conduct in occupying territory claimed, which had passed unpunished a few months previous between the Blood River and the south bank of the Pongolo. Further encroachment was only checked by the movement of detachments of British troops from Utrecht to Lüneberg on that frontier.

21. In the latter part of July, after the Commissioners had given their verdict, and it was awaiting the confirmation of the High Commissioner, two most deliberate violations of British territory had been committed by the sons and brother of an influential Zulu Chief, Sirayo. They entered the British territory with a considerable armed force, and, dragging from the kraals of British subjects two women who had sought refuge there, forcibly carried them across the border into Zululand, and there, it is believed, put them to death. Redress for these violations of British territory was promptly demanded by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, who required that the parties implicated should be given up for trial. This demand was not complied with, nor was satisfactory notice taken of its repetition, after a sum of money tendered as a solatium by the Zulu King had been declined.

22. These and other complaints and claims for redress were detailed in the message delivered to the envoys from Cetywayo on the 11th of December, with a final demand that the offenders in the violation of British territory should be given up for trial, and a fine for previous non-compliance be paid within 20 days.

23. At the same time demands were made on the King for various reforms in his administration, for the performance of the promises he had made at his installation, and for the reduction of his army.

24. All these demands were in the interest of the Zulu people, but they were, moreover, absolutely necessary, in the opinion of the High Commissioner, to the safety of Her Majesty's dominions in this part of South Africa. A promise of compliance with these latter demands was required within 30 days from the date of demand, viz., the 11th of December.

25. Such compliance would have required consultation by Cetywayo with his councillors, and therefore 10 days more were allowed for its consideration than had been given in the case of the demand for giving up the parties accused of violation of British territory, a demand with which the King had it in his power at once to comply.

26. The King, however, had not complied with the demand to give up the offenders for trial, when the 20 days had expired at the end of December, neither has he evinced any disposition to comply with the demands for the better government of his people and the greater security of their neighbours. He has not, in fact, up to this moment, taken any adequate or becoming notice of the messages sent to him. He, at first, sent an informal message through a European, long resident in his country, intimating his inten-

tion to comply with the first demands, regarding violations of British territory, but he subsequently retracted this intimation in a similar informal message sent through the same channel, and couched in insolent and defiant terms.

27. The High Commissioner, seeing no prospect of obtaining the just redress demanded for the violations of British territory, by a notification dated the 4th of January 1879, placed in the hands of Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, K.C.B., Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa, the further enforcement of all demands. Having now exhausted all peaceable means for obtaining redress for the past, and security for the future, in Her Majesty's dominions bordering on Zululand, it only remains for us to await the issue with perfect confidence in the justice of our cause. The contest has not been provoked by the British Government. That Government has done its best to avoid war by every means consistent with honour, and now feels bound to use the power with which it has been entrusted to secure the future peace and safety alike of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa, and of the Zulus and all other neighbouring tribes and people.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal, 13th January 1879. High Commissioner.

No. 9.

Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart. (Received Feb. 11, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg,
Sir, Natal, January 13, 1879.

Her Majesty's Government has been already informed by telegram that on the 31st December the 20 days elapsed which had been allowed to Cetywayo for the surrender of the sons and brother of Sirayo, to stand their trial for violations of British territory, when two refugee women were forcibly carried away and killed, as is reported, in Zulu territory, and that up to that time Cetywayo had not complied with any of the demands made on him on the 11th December, nor shown any disposition to comply with them. He had not sent, in the customary form, any acknowledgment of the Lieutenant-Governor's final communications, but had sent, through Mr. John Dunn, informal and contradictory messages, the last being insulting and defiant.

I, in consequence, on the 4th January placed the further prosecution of all the demands in the hands of the Lieutenant-General Commanding Her Majesty's Forces, and such steps as circumstances permitted for making that measure known to the Zulus and their King were taken, both by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal and the General.

The accounts from Zululand have since been extremely conflicting, agreeing only on one point, that, though the greater and more influential of the Chiefs urged the surrender of the offenders, the King had no intention of complying, and had not even submitted the demands made on him to the Great Council of the nation.

Sirayo and his sons' position opposite Rorke's Drift was strengthened, and whilst some of the King's regiments were assembled at his own kraal, the others were distributed along the border, especially on the banks of the Tugela, whence their patrols shouted messages threatening inroad into Natal, trying the usual fording places in the flooded river, and giving other indications of an intention, when the river was practicable, to carry out the orders the King was said to have given to invade the Colony.

The heavy rain, and the flooded state of the river would have rendered such an attempt extremely hazardous to them, much impeding at the same time the General's movements and preparations.

The General himself, with Colonel Glyn's column, was to have crossed on the 11th at Rorke's Drift, which enters Sirayo's country.

Colonel Pearson, with the main body of his column, crossed near the Tugela mouth yesterday, and will probably have his whole force over in the course of to-day. Large bodies of Zulus were on the opposite side, but had not, up to last night, opposed his movements.

On the 11th he received a message, purporting to come from the King; a copy is enclosed with his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's and my own minutes upon it. The object was obviously to delay movements and to gain time. Even had there been any ground to believe in Cetywayo's desire to comply with our reasonable demands, it is

not likely he would be able to prevent his border forces from crossing, should the river offer an opportunity by falling; a desolating invasion and universal panic in the Colony might thus result from even a few days' delay.

It seems to me our first duty to enable the General to take up such positions as shall completely command the border, and clear it of all the bands now threatening invasion.

Colonel Wood's column crossed the Blood River on the 6th and is now probably encamped near the river, having been halted by the General till Colonel Glyn's column shall have crossed and ascertained the amount of opposition likely to be offered by Sirayo's forces.

A copy of a message to the Zulu population which the General will make as widely known as possible is enclosed, with some other papers of interest illustrating the situation.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1. in No. 9.

TELEGRAM.

From ADMINISTRATOR BORDER AGENT to Hon. ACTING SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS, Pietermaritzburg.

January 11, 1879.

SOIGNAFSI, Mayolor, and Uziznayo, messengers from Zulu King, just arrived. The message is Cetywayo has not yet refused to listen to the voice of Government, but the Zulu nation is gathered with the King at the Ondini to consider those words, and Cetywayo has $\{\frac{\text{first}}{\text{sent}}$ (?) asks the Great Chief to give him and the Zulu nation time to send their reply.

Useboandu Umpessa are being sent with the reply of both the King and the whole Zulu nation.

Cetywayo asks the Great Chief to await; the words they spoke are plain words.

MINUTE.

TELEGRAPH Border Agent at Tugela, reporting arrival of messengers from Zulu King to say that the King and nation are gathered at the Ondini to consider the communications made to them, and that two messengers will be sent with the reply.

The King asks for time.

January 11, 1879.

FOR your Excellency's information, and for your instructions—

Had I not better request the Border Agent to inform the messengers that your Excellency has placed the matter in the hands of the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Forces?

(Signed) H. BULWER.

His Excellency the High Commissioner.

January 11, 1879.

THESE words are not more satisfactory or binding than the King's previous verbal and informal messages, saying one day that he would give up the offenders for trial, and shortly after sending messages of insult and defiance through the same channel. He has done nothing whatever towards any of the acts which might have attested his sincerity.

I therefore agree with his Excellency the Lieut.-Governor, and think that the messengers should be told that as the King did not do any of the things required of him within the time specified that the further enforcement of the demands has been entrusted to the Lieut.-General Lord Chelmsford, Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa, who by the last advices was at Rorke's Drift, and that any further communication the King has now to make should be addressed to the General. But that no com-

munication will be considered satisfactory unless preceded by the surrender of the prisoners demanded, and the unconditional acceptance of all demands as heretofore notified.

A copy of the message in writing should be given to the messengers; but care must be taken that there are no mistakes.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure 2. in No. 9.

NOTIFICATION.

January 11, 1879.

THE British Forces are crossing into Zululand to exact from Cetywayo reparation for violations of British territory committed by the sons of Sirayo and others, and to enforce compliance with the promises made by Cetywayo at his coronation for the better government of his people.

The British Government has no quarrel with the Zulu people. All Zulus who come in unarmed, or who lay down their arms, will be provided for till the troubles of their country are over, and will then, if they please, be allowed to return to their own land; but all who do not so submit will be dealt with as enemies.

When the war is finished, the British Government will make the best arrangements in its power for the future good government of the Zulus in their own country, in peace and quietness, and will not permit the killing and oppression they have suffered from Cetywayo to continue.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure 3. in No. 9.

The following just received from Colonel Wood

Helpmakaar, January 2, 1879.

"I HAVE not received any communication from Cetywayo relative to the ultimatum.'

(Signed) EVELYN WOOD,
Colonel.

The Deputy Adjutant-General,
Army Head-quarters.

SIR, Thrings Post, January 2, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to forward your Excellency a copy of the Despatch I received this morning from Commander Campbell, R.N., relative to the prisoners and cattle demanded of Cetywayo.

The Despatch was received here at 7 a.m. and leaves at (?).

I have, &c.

His Excellency Lieutenant-General the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford.

(Signed) C. R. PEARSON, Colonel,
Commanding Lower Tugela Division.

SIR, Fort Pearson, January 2, 1879, 6 a.m.

I HAVE the honour to report that no prisoners or cattle have been given up at this place by the Zulu King.

I understand a Zulu regiment numbering 8,000 men have been sent to watch this position.

I have, &c.

Col. Glyn, Commanding Troops,
Helpmakaar.

(Signed) FLETCHER CAMPBELL,
Commanding Naval Brigade.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel GLYN, 1/24th, Helpmakaar, viâ Stanger, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 3, 1879.

THE sons and brothers of Sirayo and the 500 head of cattle demanded from Cetywayo by the High Commissioner have not been handed over to me.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel PEARSON, Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 6, 1879.

CETYWAYO appears to have connived at Dunn's crossing over. Dunn was always between the river where Zulu troops are said to be, the latter will not approach the river on account of the fort. Refugees who accompanied Dunn were disarmed at once by Border Agent; 237 arms and about 500 assegais taken from them. Only learnt this to-day.

January 6, 1879.

THE above reply has been received in answer to my inquiries how Captain Campbell's report of regiments of Zulus being assembled opposite Fort Pearson could be reconciled with John Dunn's followers being allowed to cross.

(Signed) W. BELLAIRS,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

Private Secretary to his
Excellency the High Commissioner

ACTING MILITARY SECRETARY to PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Helpmakaar, January 8, 1879.

THE enclosed Memorandum on the defence of the border and the instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R.E., Commanding No. 2 column, forwarded for the information of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

By command,
(Signed) J. N. CREALOCK,
Acting Military Secretary.

MEMORANDUM.

Head-quarter Camp, Helpmakaar, January 8, 1879.

ALL the reports which reach me tend to show that the Zulus intend, if possible, to make raids into Natal when the several columns move forward, always supposing that they can muster up courage enough to do so with a large force of armed Natal natives in their front, and our regular columns on their flank and perhaps rear.

The strength of the three columns, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, is only just sufficient to enable them to advance, and the British troops now on their way out will all be required to keep open the lines of communication and to guard the several supply depôts.

I could not, therefore, spare a single British soldier from the Lower Tugela, Rorke's Drift, or Blood River lines for the protection of the numerous crossing places to be found along the Natal Frontier.

No. 2 column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, has however always been intended for the defence of Natal, and has received orders not to advance into Zululand until Colonel Pearson's column (No. 1) has made such an impression, by the seizure and occupation of Ekowe, as to remove from that portion of the border between Middle and Lower Drift any dangerously large force of the enemy.

This force therefore being available for defensive purposes without in any way interfering with the freedom of action of the other columns, it becomes a question whether its distribution cannot be improved so as to give addditional security to Natal.

I find from inquiry and personal inspection that the Buffalo River is usually fordable

by footmen during the rainy season, from the Blood River to its junction with the Tugela River, and that Zulus might easily raid across that portion of the Natal border, without much fear of their retreat being intercepted by the rising of the river behind them.

The Tugela River although often fordable in many places during the rainy season is not nearly so easily crossed and remains impassable for footmen during a much longer time.

Raiders crossing the Tugela would, therefore, be liable to find the river impassable behind them for a considerable time, and the knowledge of this fact would no doubt tend to render such an attempt less likely, and thus to render that portion of the border of Natal more secure.

I have therefore determined to remove two-thirds of Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford's force from its present position opposite Middle Drift, and to send it at once to the Sand Spruit Valley for the protection of the Umsinga border.

This force will at first be able to operate against the enemy in conjunction with Colonel Glyn's column, and will then be able to advance or remain in position as circumstances may determine.

The presence of two regiments of the native contingent and about 200 native horsemen under so energetic a commander as Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford will, I feel sure, entirely remove any apprehension that may now exist in the Umsinga district regarding a hostile raid, and possibly quiet any uneasiness that may prevail in the districts further to the rear.

I cannot recognize any cause for apprehension on the part of the inhabitants along the Middle Drift, Greytown line, or along the Lower Tugela Drift, Durban line.

On both there are to be found a considerable number of able-bodied British and Dutch Colonists quite numerous enough to protect the districts in which they live, backed up as they will be by detachments of British troops at Greytown, Stanger, Durban, and Pietermaritzburg.

I trust that the arrangements I am now making will in no way interfere with or put a stop to the special precautions which his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal is taking for the defence of the border.

They will still be equally necessary.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

Head-quarter Camp, Helpmakaar,
January 8, 1879.

THE accompanying copy of a Memorandum to the address of his Excellency the High Commissioner is forwarded for your perusal.

On receipt of this Memorandum you will at once remove your two strongest regiments to Sand Spruit Valley, and take up such a position as will best ensure the protection of the Natal border from raids made across the Buffalo River between Sand Spruit and the junction of the Buffalo and Tugela rivers.

Should you consider that a counter-move across the Buffalo River will be efficacious in preventing an inroad of Zulus into Natal, you are at perfect liberty to make it, but with the understanding that it is made with a purely defensive purpose, and that the force making it returns to its former position on completion of the duty entrusted to it.

About 50 horsemen should be left with the battalion at Middle Drift, the remainder should accompany the two regiments.

You will draw your supplies if possible from Grey Town, so as not to interfere with the commissariat arrangements at Helpmakaar. You will communicate on this point with the commissariat officer at Grey Town.

Mr. Beaumont, Magistrate of Newcastle division, who has been appointed to the command of the border natives from Blood River to the junction of Buffalo and Tugela rivers, will act under your orders, so far as the portion of border entrusted to your charge is concerned.

So soon as the border has been cleared of any dangerously large body of Zulus, further instructions will be sent you regarding your future movements; Colonel Glyn's column (No. 3) will be instructed to assist in clearing the border of such Zulus as may be found south-east of Rorke's Drift. Colonel Wood's column (No. 4) will be instructed to delay its advance towards the Umvelosi River until the border is cleared, and will be instructed

to move in a southerly direction towards Colonel Glyn's column to assist it against Sirayo.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R.E.,
Commanding No. 2 Column.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT, Umvoti, to the Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

January 8, 1879, 7 p.m.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency, that I have just now had an interview with two of Bishop Schrueder's Christian natives, who have to-day arrived from Entinneni. They report that two other of the principal men there, named Johannes and John, had just returned from Cetywayo's Kraal, where they had an interview with the King and with the Princes and indunas.

The information they bring is as follows:—

The King said he thought all would be well when the Governor of Natal took up the matter of the boundary dispute, but his enemies, among whom he named J. Dunn and the Rev. — Robertson, had got hold of one of the ears of the Governor and poured into it all kinds of false and misleading words; these had been believed, and hence the present condition of affairs. He is anxious that a conference should be held by the councillors of both sides, at which Sir T. Shepstone should be present, and then all matters referred to in the message delivered on the 11th December last might be discussed. He has not rejected any of the proposed terms, and thinks they might be settled at such a conference. He hopes that even if the Government forces enter his country, they will come with that object in view, and so long as they do not "dig" (entrench themselves), he will believe that their errand is a peaceful one. He wished the bishop's natives to take a message direct to Government, but they refused, saying it was not in their province to do so. He objects to give Sirayo's sons up, because he fears they will be "sham-bokked."

His orders are that the military columns are not to be resisted on their way to his kraal; he will have explanations with the authorities there. He complained of being deserted by so many he had trusted in, mentioning Umnyamana among others. Bishop Schrueder alone among the missionaries had not abandoned him, and to show his gratitude he would send men as requested to protect the buildings at Entinneni.

He enumerated the different columns now threatening his country, and mentioned the different tribes and races the Government were bringing against him.

The King's manner was very dejected; they described him as almost fit to cry; they spoke very freely to him, more so than they would have dared to do under ordinary circumstances.

Johannes and John after this had an interview with the Princes and indunas who, on hearing what had fallen from the King said that he had never been so open to them, they complained bitterly that the country was being ruined by the King, he has never assembled the Great Council to seriously discuss the terms offered by Government, they will not submit to it any longer, they represent the Zulu nation ("Uzulu"), and seeing the King neglects to take any action they will take matters into their own hands, and send Sirayo and his sons together with the fine at once to Lower Tugela, and hand him over to the Government authorities there. They say they have the nation at their back and the King is powerless to stop them; "is Sirayo a son of Senzangakona that such "consideration should be shown him, and ruin brought on the country for his sake, no, "he should be given up," and my informants believe he will be.

Nothing was said about the other terms, a general impression prevails that they will not be pressed if the one referring to Sirayo is satisfied. All the Princes and councillors are agreed, there is no division among them, and it is thought they will take the authority out of the King's hands.

The old report is revived that Umbulazi is alive and will be brought back and installed King in Cetywayo's place.

The Umkosi dance is to take place this moon, all have been summoned, but many fear to attend on account of the great scarcity of food.

The general opinion is if the columns do not molest the Zulus they will not be attacked, but erecting fortifications will be considered an act of hostility.

The men were treated civilly along the road and return to Entumeni to-morrow.

The Bishop and myself have thoroughly explained the proclamation of his Excellency

the High Commissioner to those men and they will spread the intelligence as much as possible in Zululand, I also explained the new refugees' regulations.

Mr. G. Shepstone, on behalf of Colonel Durnford, was present at our interview, as was also Bishop Schrueder, the latter thinks the statement made is trustworthy.

Colonel Durnford undertakes to forward the intelligence to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and I will send a special message by my police early to-morrow morning to Colonel Pearson.

Colonel Durnford has undertaken to forward this by mounted express to Grey Town to-night. I therefore hope it will reach his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to-morrow.

(Signed) JOHN EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

REPORT of W. FANNIN, Special Border Agent.

For the Information of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

January 10, 1879.

THE communication is an interesting one, and, I think an important one, as showing the condition of things in the Zulu country.

The King has evidently not summoned his Great Council together to consider the communications made at the Lower Tugela Drift. The chief men of the nation will no doubt resent this; but their resentment does not appear to have taken any practical form as yet, and will probably not do so until the troops have crossed the border, when it is quite possible that the King's power will break in pieces suddenly and completely. He is half tyrant and half child, he cannot realize that we shall take action. He thinks all matters will be settled by words and by delays. He is willing to risk the Zulu monarchy rather than that Sirayo's sons should be jamboked, which he thinks will be the punishment given them.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

For the Information of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

Helpmakaar, January 9, 1879.

THE whole of the force encamped at Helpmakaar moves down to Rorke's Drift to-day.

The 3rd column will therefore be concentrated at Rorke's Drift this afternoon. In accordance with the instructions of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding the 3rd column will cross the Buffalo at Rorke's Drift at daybreak on the 11th inst.

(Signed) R. GLYN,
Colonel Commanding 3rd Column.

Deputy Adjutant-General.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel PEARSON, Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 12, 1879.

6.30. a.m.—Crossing going on rapidly, fine day for the operation, half Buffs across with Victoria Rifles, just going over, no opposition, but Zulus watching us from distant hills.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel PEARSON, Lower Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 12, 1879.

BUFFS, and 99th, the Field Hospital, Royal Artillery, half mounted Infantry, and Victoria Rifles, have crossed all successfully. Crossing will be continued at daybreak to-morrow, large forces of Zulus reported to be within a few miles, strength unknown.

No. 10.

J. GORDON SPRIGG, Esq., to the SECRETARY OF STATE.
(Received February 11, 1879.)

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
January 21, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour, in the absence of his Excellency the Governor, to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch dated 19th ultimo,* requesting that the statement of expenditure for military purposes in the Colony called for in your previous Despatch may be supplied in time to admit of its presentation to the Imperial Parliament on its re-assembling in February.

The information required to enable his Excellency the Governor to furnish this statement will be furnished to his Excellency at the very earliest possible date in so far as it relates to expenditure from Colonial funds.

Meanwhile, and with more particular reference to the fourth paragraph of the Despatch, I have the honour to state that the actual expenditure from Colonial funds has, as far as can be ascertained from accounts rendered up to this date, reached a total of about 1,200,000*l.*, or 450,000*l.* in excess of the loan authorised by Act No. 24 of 1878.

I have further the honour to state that operations now being carried on on the northern borders of the Colony, where a considerable Colonial force is at present engaged in watching the movements of Klaas Lucas and other disaffected Koranna Chiefs, with their followers, necessitate a large outlay from Colonial funds. The maintenance of this force, owing to the distance of the scene of disturbance from the source of supply, is necessarily costly, and involves an expenditure estimated at 10,000*l.* a month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. GORDON SPRIGG,
Colonial Secretary.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

No. 11.

The RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART., to GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

Downing Street, February 12, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 27th of December,† stating some of the reasons which in your opinion render it necessary to enforce the demands made upon Cetywayo.

I am obliged to you for these full explanations which will of course be attentively considered by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 12.

The RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART., to the RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

Downing Street, February 12, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 27th of December,‡ forwarding a copy of a letter from Mr. John Dunn, relative to the demands made upon the Zulu King for the surrender of the offenders in the case of the two Zulu women who were murdered after being taken from British territory, and for the payment of certain fines of cattle, together with copies of Memoranda by yourself and by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

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* Not printed. † No. 58 of [C.-2222] Feb. 1879. ‡ No. 59 of [C.-2222] Feb. 1879.

No. 13.

ADMIRALTY TO COLONIAL OFFICE.

SIR, Admiralty, February 12, 1879.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you for the perusal of Sir Michael Hicks Beach a letter from Rear-Admiral Sullivan, dated the 13th January last, reporting the proceedings of H.M.S. "Active" and "Tenedos," and forwarding extracts of a letter from Lieutenant Milne, R.N., and Commander Campbell relative to the advance of Her Majesty's Forces into the Zulu country.

I have, &c.

The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Signed) ROBERT HALL.

GENERAL LETTER.

SIR, "Active," off Natal, January 13, 1879.

IN continuation of my last general letter No. 4, dated 4th January, I request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I left this anchorage on the morning of the 5th instant, and with the "Tenedos" examined the coast as far north as St. Lucia Bay, returning on 8th.

2. About 15 miles to the northward of the Tugela River a shoal was discovered running parallel to the coast, inside which still water was observed, but the weather would only admit of a partial survey. A detailed report of this examination will be furnished.

3. I learn by telegram that Colonel Pearson's column with Naval Brigade crossed into Zululand yesterday unopposed, the Naval Brigade working the pontoon and boats. I believe a portion of this column is to advance by a forced march about 30 miles, leaving the remainder to follow with and convoy supplies.

4. I understand also the columns under Colonels Glyn and Wood advance into Zululand simultaneously with that under Colonel Pearson.

5. The "Tenedos" proceeds to sea this afternoon, and I follow in "Active" to-morrow morning for the Zulu coast, returning here in a few days.

6. I regret to have to report the death of Daniel Martin, A.B., belonging to H.M.S. "Active," serving with the Naval Brigade, who was swept off a raft by the towing hawser slipping, and drowned in the Tugela River on the 9th instant.

7. The "Asiatic" arrived on the morning of the 10th and her troops were disembarked the same day.

8. The "Dunrobin Castle" arrived this morning and her troops were at once disembarked.

I forward herewith for their Lordships' information copy of a Despatch from Commander Campbell, also the returns, &c. mentioned in the accompanying schedule.

I have, &c.

The Secretary of the Admiralty, Whitehall. (Signed) F. W. SULLIVAN, Commodore.

P.S.—10 p.m. A letter dated 9th from Helpmakaar, just received from Lieutenant Milne, R.N., informs me that Colonel Wood's column has already entered Zululand, and is encamped at Bunbas Kop, 35 miles from Rorkes Drift, a large force of Zulus, however has collected on his left flank and front, so that he will not probably move as at first intended, to take the Chief Usirayo's kraal in flank, but wait until the General with Colonel Glyn's column moves in his direction.

On 9th instant the disposition of Colonel Glyn's column was as follows:—

(1st.) 4 Cos. 2/24. Covering Rorkes Drift.
2 Cos. 1/24. Covering Rorkes Drift.
1,800 Lonsdale's Native Contingent. Covering Rorkes Drift.
1 Coy. Native Pioneers. Covering Rorkes Drift.

(2.) Native Carbineers and Buffalo Border Guard half way to the drift from Helpmakaar.

(3.) 5 Cos. 1/24. Natal Mounted Police, Mounted Infantry, and Harness Battery.
4 Cos. 2/24 encamped here (Helpmakaar).

Usirayo's kraal is situated opposite the Drift in a strong position, and he is said to have 9,000 men there; our troops would have to pass through a narrow defile to pass it,

it is said his position is capable of being turned, and, as at first intended, Colonel Wood's column would have turned his right flank. This appears not likely to be carried out in consequence of the enemy being on Wood's flank and front, but instead of Wood moving on Glyn's column, it is probable that column will move towards Wood.

By Lieutenant Milne's report the column would cross on the 11th, but I have received no intimation that this has been carried out.

Lieutenant Milne also informs me that in consequence of the apprehension of the Lieutenant.Governor, that the Zulus may make raids into Natal, Colonel Durnford with two Native regiments has been ordered to Sand Spruit to protect the border and the advance of the columns under Glyn and Wood will not be made until the border is entirely free of marauding Zulus.

I trust that a reference to the map forwarded before will facilitate the comprehension of the position.

(Signed) F. W. SULLIVAN,
Commodore.

Enclosure No. 1. in No. 13.

SIR, Naval Brigade, Fort Pearson, January 8, 1879.

IN continuation to my letter No. 6 of 3rd January, I have the honour to report that on the morning of the 4th the "Tenedos" appeared off the Tugela entrance and fired two guns, which were answered from this fort.

The lower Tugela column, under Colonel Pearson, are rapidly concentrating here, the passage of the River to take place at day light of 9th instant. On 6th a wire hawser was successfully laid across the River by the Naval Brigade, the operation being covered by a piquet of the Naval Brigade, who where extended round the Zulu side of the Drift to give timely notice of an approaching enemy; no opposition was was made, only a few scouts appeared on the neighbouring hills; when the hawser was fixed the piquet was withdrawn, this may be considered the first actual occupation of the enemy's country.

I am glad to be able to report, that as at present arranged, a considerable portion of the Naval Brigade will be the first to cross to morrow, and will furnish out-posts to protect the passage of the rest of the column.

The river is nearly 300 yards across, with a strong current and very shallow water, which makes the arrangements necessary for its passage very difficult, and owing to the depth of water, varying on a bank right in the centre, from a few inches to the same number of feet in a night, much arduous work has fallen on the officers and men under my orders. They have, however, worked cheerfully and well, and have I may venture to say rendered important service to the army.

The detachment form "Tenedos" arrived here on the 6th in the evening.

The force here consist of about

*800 3rd Buffs.
100 Artillery.
200 Naval Brigade.
100 Natal Native Pioneers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. FLETCHER CAMPBELL,
Commanding Naval Brigade.

Commodore Sullivan, C.B., C.M.G., A.D.C.,
Senior Officer, West Coast.

*N.B.—The attached cutting from the Natal Mercury of 13th January 1879, gives fairly accurately the present strength of the several columns.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. W. SULLIVAN,
Commodore.

Enclosure 2. in No. 13.

Cutting from "Natal Mercury" Newspaper of January 13, 1879.

There are altogether four columns now advancing into Zululand. The line of advance may be said to describe a crescent, of which one horn rests on Luneberg or the Pongolo, the newly-defined boundary of the country to the north, and the other or base terminates

at the lower drift of the Tugela, close to the sea. The inner line of the half circle is represented by the boundaries, first of Natal and then of the Transvaal. The first column occupies the last-named position. Its centre is Fort Pearson, an entrenched camp that has been established on the summit of a bluff directly overlooking the Tugela. During the last few days the forces that have been encamped for several weeks at Thrings Post, a more inland point 25 miles distant, have moved on to Fort Pearson, while a portion of the reinforcements that have just arrived from England have also reached there. This column, therefore, consists of about 1,500 regular infantry, namely, eight companies of the Buffs, under Col. Parnell; six companies of the 99th, under Col. Welman; and one company of the Royal Engineers and two 7-pound guns, under Lieut. Lloyd, drawn by mules; a naval brigade of 200 blue jackets and marines, under Capt. Campbell, from H.M.S. "Active" and "Tenedos," with three Gatling guns; 200 of Capt. Barrow's mounted infantry; and 200 mounted volunteers belonging to the Durban Mounted Rifles (Capt. W. Shepstone), Alexander Mounted Rifles (Capt. Arbuthnot), Victoria Mounted Rifles (Capt. Saner), Stanger Mounted Rifles (Capt. Addison), the Natal Hussars (Capt. Norton). Col. Pearson, of the Buffs, is in command of the whole column, which is further supported by a Native contingent of 2,000, under Major Graves, and by two companies of the 99th, posted at Stanger and Durban respectively.

Its strength may be rightly set down at 2,200 Europeans and 2,000 natives, and its equipment and discipline are said to be excellent.

The second column is planted at Krantz Kop, in the locality of Fort Buckingham, and the scene of the concentration of troops (about 500 in all) in 1861. This is one of the most commanding heights in the country. It is inaccessible except on the Natal side, and from its summit the eye ranges over a vast landscape, including a great portion of Zululand. Here the 1st Regiment of the native contingent, under Col. Durnford, R.E., is stationed. It consists of three battalions, and is supported by two rocket tubes under Lieut. Russell, R.E., and 250 mounted natives, the strength in all being about 3,300 natives, with 200 European officers.

A long interval of frontier separates column 3 from Krantz Kop; Helpmakaar is to Rorke's Drift, what Thrings Post has been to Fort Pearson, and Potspruit to Krantz Kop. It has been the scene of great activity for two months past. Situated on high and open ground commanding wide prospects, it has proved a very suitable place for a permanent encampment. Its depôts are Greytown on the one side, and Ladismith on the other. The full strength of the regulars here consists by this time of seven companies of the 1/24th and eight of the 2/24th; six 7-pounder guns, with Kaffrarian carriages under Colonel Harness. A squadron of mounted infantry under Captain Browne; the Natal Mounted Police, 150 strong; the Natal Carbineers (Captain Shepstone); the Buffalo Border Guard (Captain Robson); the Newcastle Mounted Rifles, Captain Bradstreet. Lastly, there is the Second Rigiment of the Native Contigent, 2,000 strong, under Commandant Londsdale, officered by 200 whites. Here, too, there are about 2,200 Europeans, and 2,000 Natives under command of Colonel Glyn, 24th, C.B. Early last week, the volunteers were moved several miles nearer Rorke's Drift, and one of their first performances was to seize two Zulu spies caught in the act of lighting signal fires on this side.

The fourth and last column covers the disputed Transvaal border, and rests on the line of the Blood River, with Utrecht for its base. It consists of a strong and well-seasoned force of about 1,600 regulars and 300 mounted men, many of both branches having seen service on the Cape Frontier and in Sikukuni's country. Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., is in command, and he has under him the 13th and 90th Regiments, six guns, Major Buller's Frontier Light Horse, numbering over 200 men, and a certain number of Natives. It remains to be seen how many Boers have turned out, and now that they see what is meant, they will probably be better disposed to come forward. The Swazies too will not wait to be asked when they see war actually going on in the territory of their ancient enemies.

No. 14.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH. (Received Feb. 15, 1879.)

TELEGRAPHIC.

January 27, 1879.

LORD Chelmsford wishes the following to be sent to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War.

From Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford Commanding Her Majesty's Troops,

Cape of Good Hope, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, 27th January 1879. To the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for War, War Office, Pall Mall, London:—I regret to have to report a very disastrous engagement which took place on the 22nd of January 1879, between the Zulus and a portion of No. 3 column left to guard a camp about 10 miles in front of Rorke's Drift; the Zulus came down in overwhelming numbers, and in spite of the gallant resistance made by five companies, first battalion 24th, and one company second battalion of the same regiment, two guns, two rocket tubes, 104 mounted men, and about 800 natives, they overwhelmed them. The camp containing all the surplus ammunition and transport of No. 3 column was taken, and but few of its defenders escaped; our loss I fear must be set down at 30 officers and about 500 non-commissioned officers rank and file of Imperial troops, and 21 officers and 70 non-commissioned rank and file of Colonial forces. Court of inquiry ordered to assemble to collect evidence regarding this unfortunate affair, and will be forwarded to you as soon as received. Full particulars as far as can be obtained have been sent in my Despatch of this day's date which will reach you by next mail. It would seem that the troops were enticed away from their camp as the action took place about one mile and a quarter outside it. The effects of this reverse have already been very serious. Two whole regiments of natives have deserted, and it is to be feared that the rest will follow. A panic is spreading broadcast over the Colony, which it is difficult to allay. Additional reinforcements must be sent out; at least three infantry and two cavalry regiments with horses are required, one more company of engineers, one complete battery and 100 artillerymen to act as mounted infantry, and they should have their carbines slung on their shoulders, and swords shorter than regulation pattern, fastened to the saddle. The remainder of Colonel Glyn's column re-occupied the camp after dark same night, having been with me 12 miles away all day. The following morning, 23rd, we arrived at Rorke's Drift post, which for 12 hours had been attacked by 3,000 to 4,000 Zulus. The defence by some 80 men of the 24th under Broomhead, and a few others, most gallant. Lieutenant Chard, Royal Engineers senior officer. 370 bodies lay close around the post. Compute the Zulus loss at 1,000 here alone. At the camp where the disaster occurred the loss of the enemy is computed to be over 2,000. Colonel Pearson, No. 1 column, has been attacked, but repulsed the Zulus with success. List of killed and missing:—Her Majesty's Forces: Royal Engineers.—Colonel Durnford, Lieut. MacDonald. Royal Artillery.—Captain Russell, Captain Stuart Smith. 1st Battalion 24th Regiment.—Colonel Pulleine, Major White, Captain Degacher, Captain Wardell, Captain Mostyn, Captain Younghusband, Lieut. Hodson, Lieut. Cavage, Lieut. Atkinson, Lieut. Daly, Lieut. Anstey, Lieut. Dyson, Lieut. Porteous, Lieut. Melvill, Lieut. Coghill, Quartermaster Pullen. 2nd Battalion 24th Regiment.—Lieut. Pope, Lieut. Austen, Lieut. Dyer, Lieut. Griffiths, Quartermaster Bloomfield, Surgeon-major Shepherd.

No. 15.

The Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart., to Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B, G.C.S.I.

Telegraphic.

Downing Street, February 13, 1879.

I have received with very deep regret your telegram* sent from St. Vincent the 10th inst. reporting the destruction near Rorke's Drift of part of 3rd column by overwhelming force of Zulus. The Queen commands me to express her sorrow at the loss of so many brave officers and men of regular and Colonial forces, and her full confidence that you will be able to meet the difficulties in which you are placed. Full reinforcements of all arms will be sent with utmost despatch.

No. 16.

The Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart., to Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Sir,

Downing Street, February 13, 1879.

I have received with very deep regret your telegram transmitted from St. Vincent on the 10th instant,* in which you reported the disaster which occurred on the 22nd

* No. 5.

January, when a portion of the 3rd column, in charge of a camp 10 miles from Rorke's Drift, was destroyed by an overwhelming force of Zulus.

2. I am commanded by the Queen to express to you the profound grief with which Her Majesty has heard of the loss of the very large number of officers and men of the regular troops and Colonial forces who fell in this engagement after a most gallant and devoted resistance.

3. It is satisfactory to learn that the remainder of Colonel Glyn's column at once re-occupied the camp, and that the courageous defence of the Rorke's Drift post by a very small force was successful.

4. Large reinforcements, of which particulars will be given to Lord Chelmsford by the Secretary of State for War, will be immediately sent out; and I trust that, pending their arrival, the forces at the disposal of the General Commanding will prove fully adequate for the protection of Natal and the Transvaal.

I have, &c.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

No. 17.

The Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart., to Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Sir,

Downing Street, February 13, 1879.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 11th of October,* forwarding copies of the Commissions which you had issued, under the Imperial Act, 26 & 27 Vict. cap. xxxv., appointing the Rev. J. Oxley Oxland to be Resident with the Chief Umquikela, and Mr. H. M. Edye to be Magistrate in East Pondoland.

I have, &c.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

No. 18.

The Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart., to Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Telegraphic.

Downing Street, February 15, 1879.

When reporting any casualties by telegram or Despatch please give names of officers of native levies and local forces as well as of regular troops, and give Christian names where necessary to identify.

No. 19.

COLONIAL OFFICE to WAR OFFICE.

Sir,

Downing Street, February 15, 1879.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to transmit to you, to be laid before the Secretary of State for War,† the accompanying copy of the telegram from Sir Bartle Frere, which was received in a somewhat curtailed form from St. Vincent on Monday night.

The present full telegram is important, as showing that the date of Lord Chelmsford's report was the 27th of January, and that he was then at Pietermaritzburg.

(Signed) John Bramston.

The Under Secretary of State, War Office.

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* No. 115 of [C.-2220] of Dec. 1878.

† No. 14.

No. 20.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received Feb. 21, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.
January 20, 1879.

SIR,

IN continuation of previous correspondence I have the honour to forward papers regarding the advance of Her Majesty's Forces into Zululand.

The Despatch of his Excellency Lieut.-General Lord Chelmsford to the Secretary of State for War (Enclosure No. 8.) brings up to the latest date the proceedings of No. 3, or Colonel Glyn's column, to which Lord Chelmsford has at present attached his own head-quarters.

The only information of later date which has reached me regarding the other Columns is that Colonel Pearson with Column No. 1 having completed the crossing of the Tugela near the mouth, and established a commissariat depôt in an entrenched position on the northern or left bank of the river, had proceeded as far as the Myoni River on his way to Ekowe, and that his patrols had pushed on to the Amatakulu River, without meeting any body of the enemy.

Nothing can, I think, be better or more complete than Lord Chelmsford's arrangements, and the manner in which his plans were carried out by the troops engaged on the 12th reflects great credit on all concerned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Enclosure 1. in No. 20.

Government House, Maritzburgh, Natal,
January 14, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge and thank you for copies in English and Zulu of a notification by your Excellency, dated the 11th instant, copies of which you had, some days ago, forwarded for distribution by the Military Officers commanding the four columns then about to enter Zululand.

2. The notification appears to me to contain all that is necessary to ensure a correct understanding by the Zulu people of the object with which the British Forces have crossed the border.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieut.-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 2. in No. 20.

STATEMENT of Umkosi, a Zulu living on the Blood River under the captainship of Sirayo (Useketwayo) made before Commandant Schermbrucker this 3rd day of January 1879.

I left about 10 months ago my habitation at Blood River and came to Mr. H. Rabbe at Luneberg, who permitted me to build a hut and cultivate some land whereupon I lived ever since. I had 10 head of cattle. They were all in my kraal this morning, a Zulu induna called Ian who belongs to Faku's people came this morning at sunrise to my kraal and called out, "Get out, there is an Impi." I came out and saw about 10 men armed with guns, shields, and assegais, who drove the cattle out of my kraal and drove them towards Manyonyoba's kraal. I saw the cattle brought into Manyonyobas kraal, the induna Ian told me that it was my duty to return to Cetywayo, where I would hear the remainder, I refused to join Cetywayo as I had made up my mind

to stay with the British Government. The ground upon which I live and where I was robbed of my cattle is situated on the north side of the Pongola and within the British territories proclaimed by the High Commissioner.

(Signed) UMKOSI × his mark.

Signed in my presence,

(Signed) T. SCHERMBRUCKER,
Commandant.

Enclosure 3. in No. 20.

Forwarded. January 8, 1879.

(Signed) J. W. DURNFORD, Lt.-Col. R.E.

Camp Keran's Kop,
January 8, 1879, 9·45 p.m.

MINUTES of a report made in my presence to Bishop Schrueder and J. E. Fannin, Esquire, this afternoon (8th January 1879) by two of the Christian natives from the station at Entumeni.

We are sent by Johannes and John who were unable to hurry on owing to fatigue, to report the result of a private interview they had with the King. He seemed very dejected and complained that he was being urged on too fast that he had never objected to any of the terms of the ultimatum but wished to discuss them further with his Excellency the High Commissioner, and the Lieut.-Governor Somtsen (Sir T. Shepstone) too was to be present, and everything was to be freely and fully discussed. He stated that he no objection to the different colums (which he enumerated) marching into the country, and he would see by their conduct whether the wishes expressed by Sir Bartle Frere and the other Amukosi were sincere. The only stipulation he made was that there should be no digging (throwing up earthworks.) This would show that it was intended to take the country.

Cetywayo complained bitterly of the misrepresentations made by the missionaries and others of his conduct.

They had loaded the Governor's ear with their false statements until there was no room for his (Cetywayo's) story to enter, but he hoped the Governor would do him the justice of meeting him and hearing his explanations.

Everyone had deserted him even John Dunn had left in secret by night, his people driving their cattle muzzled so as not to betray their flight, and now in his extremity he found how useless Muyamana was as a councillor. When the King failed to see the way out of this mess his Prime Minister should find it for him, but he had not done so.

He told us to tell Mavrunengwana to send people to sit at Entumeni to watch over the Bishop's property and he also gave directions that we (Amakohoa) were to be allowed free way through the country even should there be war. He said he had given instructions to his people not to interfere in any way with the advance of the forces on no account to fire a shot. He begged us (Johannes and John) to carry these words to you Bishop Schreuder, but we said they are matters of state and you must send them by your own messengers. He replied that his own were always so long away and matters were pressing and did not admit of delay.

We then left him and went down to the meeting of counsellors. Many were there from the royal house. Mavrunengwana on receiving our message about guarding Entumeni, said he should have it by a messenger from the King himself. We therefore returned to Cetywayo and on telling him this he immediately send word himself to Mavrunengwana and told him further to instruct his people so placed in charge that they were not to leave or even in the case of a fight.

On returning to the counsellors we were asked what the King had said and we told them. They said he had said more to us than he had to them. They complained that he never consulted them and had not yet discussed the terms of the ultimatum with them. They expressed great dissatisfaction at this and said that the King was ruining the country for the sake of one man who was not even begotten of Senzangakina, but that they now intended to act for the Zulu nation and would then see what Cetywayo would say when he found himself alone. They said they were sending messengers next morning and that *Sirayo and his family should be sent at once bound* to be handed over to the authorities with the cattle demanded at the Lower Tugela.

Sintwango had reached the King's kraal the day before we did, having hurried back with speed, but the reply he had received from the General had not been made public.

All Zululand is in a state of confusion and no one knows what will happen. The umkosi (national dance) is to be held this noon and all the men are ordered up to the King's kraal for the purpose. A very few are to be left to watch the river, but are to offer no resistance. They dread this gathering of the people at the King's kraal on account of the scarcity of food.

Bishop Schrueder said emphatically more than once that this was perfectly trustworthy intelligence and he had no doubt whatever of its genuiness. A revolution is clearly imminent and from this report it would appear that good positions might be taken up by taking advantage of the present mood of the King before the outbreak which will certainly follow on the umkosi when the young regiments will demand to be led against the invading forces.

(Signed) GEORGE SHEPSTONE,
Captain.

Received 9 a.m., 10/1/79.
Sent 10 a.m., 10/1/79.

FORWARDED to his Excellency the High Commissioner for information. The state of confusion mentioned is confirmed from other quarters.

By command.
(Signed) J. N. CREALOCK,
A. M. S.

Enclosure 4. in No. 20.

Landdrost Office, Utrecht,
January 11, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose for the information of his Excellency the High Commissioner extract (from my memorandum book for native matters) of report of messenger "Nyokama" on message from Sir Theophilus Shepstone to the Swazi Chief, dated 25th November last (of which I presume you have a copy). This report was sent to the Honourable the Secretary for Native Affairs of the Transvaal on the 2nd ultimo, and I am instructed to send a copy of it to Sir Bartle Frere for his Excellency's information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. M. RUDOLPH,
Landdrost.

The Hon. W. F. Littleton, Private Secretary,
High Commissioner's Office, Natal.

EXTRACT from Native Memorandum Book of Landdrost, Utrecht.

Utrecht, December 27, 1879.

"NYOKAMA," Swazi messenger sent to Umbandini, Swazi Chief, on December 2, states :—

That he delivered the message to Umbandeni and his mother, the Chieftainess, in the presence of Sandhlana, Chief Swazi Induna, and Umborana Induna, of the Nkanini Kraal.

That Umbandeni desired him to wait till he could have collected all the elders of his tribe to receive his words, but that he replied that he could not do so as he had instructions to return quickly, upon which Umbandeni collected the above-named people when he delivered the message.

That Umbandeni after hearing the message said that he could not understand the appointment of so many new officers of the Government; that they only knew "Somtsen," and his son "Gebuza," and "Ishela" (Mr. Rudolph), that they also knew Mr. Bell, deceased, and had liked him.

That after Mr. Bell's death Captain Clarke was given to them by Somtsen as governor official, and that they were satisfied knowing that Mr. Rudolph was near them at Utrecht.

That they cannot understand why they should have a new official, that they do not object to Captain MacLeod, but that they do not know him, and he does not speak their language.

That they would collect all the elders of the tribe and consult with them about the new official, and let Mr. Rudolph know the result, for the information of Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

That the Swazi Chief and those present said that they could not understand who the High Commissioner was, as they thought that "Somtsen" was the head Inkosi in the land.

That the Chief and people desired him to say that they are very anxious to obey the Government in every respect, and that if the Government say that Mr. MacLeod must be the Swazi border Inkosi, they will accept him although they do not know him as he may be a good man.

The above message from the Swazies was delivered to me by "Nyokama" in the presence of Magojeni who accompanied Nyokama.

(Signed) G. M. Rudolph,
Landdrost.

December 27, 1878.

Extract from Landdrost of Utrecht's Native Memorandum Book.

It will be seen that the steps taken by his Excellency and the Landdrost been hitherto effectual in acrediting Captain MacLeod to the Swazies.

This may lead to very serious consequences unless his Excellency can manage that the Swazies shall understand Captain MacLeod's true position.

It is not necessary that they should understand all the gradations of administration relating to officials they rarely see or hear of; but it is very necessary that they should know how to receive an officer who so long ago was specially appointed by the High Commissioner to duties on their border, and very intimately connected with their own welfare.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

His Excellency the Administrator,
Transvaal.

17/1/79.

Enclosure 5. in No. 20.

Telegram.

From Colonel Pearson, Tugela, to Deputy Adjutant-General, Pietermaritzburg.

January 13, 1879, 9 a.m. Monday.

All Mounted Infantry and Naval Brigade of "Active" across, also stores for immediate use. River risen again, and very troublesome current, being too strong to swim over. All troops, except 1st battalion Native Contingent, which will be left on right bank for fatigue duty till the last, will be on left bank to-night, also some stores. Last night quite dark for a short time, and rain towards morning. Some of the missionary cattle arrived yesterday from Intumeni; heard reported that some 300 or 400 Kafirs about four miles off; did not believe they belonged to the regular army, though majority had fire arms. Barrow going out to reconnoitre. All well. No accident of any kind in crossing to the present.

Telegram.

From Colonel Pearson, Lower Tugela, to Deputy Adjutant-General, Pietermaritzburg.

January 13, 1879.

Crossing successfully continued; all now over except 80 mounted volunteers, and one battalion Native levies, which it is advisable to keep on right bank for the present. Reconnaissance under Barrow just returned; saw a few natives; took five prisoners and eleven guns; no signs of any large force having been in this neighbourhood; health of troops continues good; weather very hot all day; river falling a little, but still very high; current strong.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel PEARSON, Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 13, 1879, 12 noon.

STRICKLAND here; he lays great stress on having his depôt on left bank, would save much time, as otherwise no stores could be brought over until arrival of Buck waggon from Ekowe. Fort Pearson having fulfilled its mission, so far as covering the crossing of the troops, I propose entrenching a house and garden some 600 yards from left bank, placing greater part of garrison of fort, with its two guns and one company 99th, inside as as a guard for the store. Your opinion on this proceeding is requested; if 20 more men could be landed from Tenedos it would be an additional help, as fort could be re-occupied.

From Colonel PEARSON, Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 13, 2 p.m.

COMMANDER CAMPBELL has written to Commodore for steam pinnace. He also wishes three or four more boats of the same description as that sent here by Commodore; we are now dependent on one pont, and his boat is our sole means of crossing, the boats found on the river being rotten and untrustworthy in such a rapid current. Commander Campbell represents that hawser may be carried away at any time, and it would take 24 hours to get another across. As the whole force is to be fed by this line it is most important that the communication across the river should be perfect. Can only work one pont as there is only one passage.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel PEARSON, Lower Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 15, 1879.

CARRIED away hauling hawser at 8 p.m: last night, could not, therefore, work during the night. Hawser repaired in the night, and waggons and cattle have been coming over all day. 3.30 p.m.—Two companies and head-quarters, 99th, just arrived and are crossing over. Barrow reconnoitred to Iyony to-day, distance nine miles; only saw about 20 Kaffirs in the distance, who ran away. No sign of any large body of men having been in the neighbourhood. Barrow's approach was signalled by the Zulus by seven beacon fires; he captured nine cattle.

Colonel Pearson, from Lower Tugela, reports that Major Barrow commanding Mounted Troops, No. 1 Column, made a reconnaissance on the 13th with the 2nd squadron of Mounted Infantry and the Victoria Rifles. Near St. Andrew's they surprised and took prisoners two out of a party of eight men. Further on they cut off and made 11 prisoners out of an armed party of 50 men. 30 to 40 men were seen at Mr. John Dunn's farm, but could not be cut off. The farmhouse was uninjured, except that its windows had been broken. The mounted force returned to camp after having reconnoitred the whole country within a radius of five miles; no signs of any large body of the enemy were met with. From the statements made by the prisoners it appeared that some belonged to the kraals in the neighbourhood, having been directed by Cetywayo to remain "to watch the white people." Others had been sent forward for that purpose by their Chiefs U. Hoyan and Zambela. The former were released and five prisoners with 11 loaded firelocks brought in; one of the prisoners was recognised as the murderer of a Christian Zulu.

(Signed) W. BELLAIRS,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

The Private Secretary His Excellency
the High Commissioner.

TELEGRAM.

From Major WALKER, Tugela, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

January 18, 1879.

FYNNEY just received reliable information that about 10,000 Ulusuto are marching from King's Kraal with orders to be at the Siquakeni Kraal near Ekowe, and to engage Colonel Pearson's Column when it arrives. Colonel Pearson has been informed.

TELEGRAM.

From CORRESPONDENT, "Cape Argus," Fort Napier, to the HIGH COMMISSIONER, Pietermaritzburg.

January 17, 1879.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Colonel Pearson refuses to allow recognised newspaper correspondents to go with his column unless they consent to submit all Letters and Telegraphic Despatches to the censorship of the staff.

Being unable to refer this determination speedily to the Commander of the Forces, I act upon Colonel Walker's suggestion, and beg to lay the matter before your Excellency in the hope that this restriction may be removed.

TELEGRAM.

From the PRIVATE SECRETARY to HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, Pietermaritzburg, to SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT for "Cape Argus," Fort Pearson, Lower Tugela.

January 19, 1879.

YOUR telegram to his Excellency, dated Fort Napier, 17th, reached this by post from Durban last night. Colonel Pearson is supreme within his command as regards all matters relating to your telegram. It is necessary for the safety of his troops that his orders should be strictly obeyed.

There are persons this side the Tugela who keep the Zulus well informed of what can be learnt here; and incautious as well as incorrect telegrams so repeated back may compromise Colonel Pearson's or other columns. Comply with the orders of the officer in command, and you will find every desire to aid you, but orders essential to the safety of the force must be obeyed.

TELEGRAM.

From Colonel PEARSON, Camp Inyoni, to DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Pietermaritzburg.

Sunday, January 19, 1879.

SEVEN a.m., rained all night. Piquets of Native Contingent saw some Zulus about 2 a.m. Troops turned out alertly. No attack made. Amatuzulu was 4½ feet deep yesterday, when Barrow reconnoitred it. General goes down in a few hours, so trust it will be no obstacle to us. As roads will be greasy after the rain I do not think second column can get beyond Umsimdusi River to-day, where I shall encamp to-night. Have written to Colonel Welman, commanding 2nd (1st) column, to join me there. Fynney reports that a Zulu regiment has been sent down to Ekowe to attack us.

Enclosure 6. in No. 20.

January 12, 1879.

No. 3 column had its first fight to-day. A reconnaissance having been ordered by the Lieutentant-General to be made of the Bashee valley and road leading to Isipizi, Colonel Glyn, C.B., proceeded with three companies of 1/24th Infantry and one battalion 3rd Regiment Native Natal Contingent up the valley, while the mounted men crossing the valley advanced along the road leading over the Ngudu Mountain, whose precipices close in the valley for some 3 miles, they then abruptly turn to the right. Cattle and armed men being observed in these rocky fastnesses the soldiers and Native Contingent were ordered to wheel to the right and capture them; at 8.30 a.m. the first shot was fired by the Zulus, the fight lasted about half an hour, resulting in the capture of the caves, the flight of the Zulus with the loss of 10 killed, three wounded, nine prisoners, and a considerable number of cattle, horses, &c. Our loss was two privates, one Natal Native Contingent, Corporal Mayor, Natal Native Contingent, severe wound in the thigh.

Four companies of the 2/24th and the four companies 2nd battalion 3rd Regiment Natal Native Contingent under Lieutenant-Colonel Degacher, C.B., were now ordered to advance up the Bashee valley and attack Usirayo's own kraal called Sokigwe, which lay two miles further in advance, situated at the foot of a precipitous krantz.

The caves formed by huge boulders scattered and tossed about were thoroughly searched by the troops and native contingent. In the meantime Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, 12th Lancers, and the mounted men of the force, had already reached the summit of the "Ngudu" Mountain, when they were fired upon at a distance of 80 to 100 yards by 60 or 70 Zulus of Usirayo's tribe. Of these 16 were killed, of whom Sirayo's son Umkumbu was one. No casualty on our side. Very heavy thunderstorms came on in the middle of the day. No sign of Zulu force is now to be observed.

By command,

(Signed) J. North Crealock, Lieut.-Col.,
Assistant Military Secretary.

W. Bellairs, Pietermaritzburg,
January 16, 1879.

Return of Casualties in Column 3, under Colonel Glyn, C.B., in the Affair at the Ngudu Mountain, on the 12th January 1879.

Regiment.	Rank and Name.	Killed.	Wounded				Remarks.
			Dangerously.	Severely.	Slightly.	Total.	
1st Battalion 3rd Regiment, Natal Native Contingent.	Two natives	2	—	—	—	—	
	Lieutenant Thomas Purvis.	—	—	1	—	14	
	Corporal Tessy Mayor	—	—	—	1		
	Natives	—	—	6	6		

The above has been compiled from certified returns forwarded by the Army Medical Department and officer commanding Regiment.

(Signed) J. North Crealock, Lieut-Col.,
Assistant Military Secretary.

Headquarter Camp, Zululand,
January 15, 1879.

Extracts from demi-official and private letters addressed to His Excellency the High Commissioner.

Lord Chelmsford in a demi-official letter dated Rorke's Drift, January 11th, says, "No. "3 Column, Colonel Glyn's, crossed the Buffalo River this morning in a thick fog, "and is now quietly encamped in Zululand. No armed Zulu was seen during the "operation."

"I had arranged with Colonel Wood to meet him this morning at some point half way between our respective camps. I pushed on therefore with all the mounted infantry and volunteers as far as the Imkonjani Hills, where we met, he having left his own ground the day before and thus got much further than half way."

"We had a long talk together, and have arranged that he will occupy himself with the tribes in his front and left flank, notably Seketwayo, until we are ready to advance to Isipezi Hill, when he will advance to Ingwe Mount, between Usengeni and white Umvolosi Rivers. We shall both then establish ourselves at those two points and bring up our supplies, when these are sufficient at each post, and we have made a strong place of defence for the garrisons, the two columns will again move forward."

"To-morrow I make a reconnaissance towards Isipezi Hill, and some part of the column will look up Sirayo's kraal, which is under a steep krantz, where, it is said, there are caves. I doubt much there being many armed men there, but it is always safe to make sure."

"Both Colonel Wood and Major Russell took a good number of Sirayo's cattle this morning, which we found quietly grazing along our line of advance."

"I do not think the Zulus anticipated our advancing directly we crossed. We also took five guns, and about 30 assegais and some shields out of one kraal. The guns were all loaded; three were rifles. I explained to all the Zulus we met why we had invaded Zululand, and why we were taking Sirayo's cattle, but I did not care to make prisoners of any of them, as they offered no resistance."

"I was anxious also that they should carry the news as quickly as possible to the King's kraal, so that all there might thoroughly understand that we are in earnest."

"Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford rode into my camp this afternoon, and brings the information that all the fighting Zulus have gone away from the border to the King's kraal. This may be true, but I shall make sure as I advance that we are not leaving any large force in our rear."

"Camp, in Zululand, near Rorke's Drift,
"January 12, 1879.

"We have had our first fight to-day. I ordered the whole force out this morning to reconnoitre the road along which we shall eventually have to pass. In passing by the Nkudu Hill we noticed that some herds of cattle had been driven up close under the krantz where one of Sirayo's strongholds was said to be. I ordered Colonel Glyn, with four companies 1/24 and the 1/3 Native Contingent, to work up under the krantz in skirmishing order. On the approach of this force near the krantz fire was opened upon them out of the caves, and the fight commenced. It lasted about half-an-hour, and ended in our obtaining possession of all the caves and all the cattle. Colonel Degacher who had been sent for from camp when we found that the krantz was occupied by the enemy came up towards the end of the affair with half battalion 2/24 and about 400 2/3 Native Contingent; this force went forward to Sirayo's own kraal, which is situated under a very steep krantz filled with caves. The British soldiers and natives skirmished or rather clambered up the steep mountain side, and entered all the caves which were found empty. I ordered Sirayo's kraal to be burnt, but none of the other huts were touched. The Native Contingent behaved very well, and not a native touched a woman or child, or killed the wounded men. Lieutenant-Colonel Russell was sent along the Isipezi road with orders to get up on to the high ground above the krantz. As he was nearly at the top, about 60 of the enemy came down and fired at his men at a distance of about 100 yards, fortunately without hitting anyone. His men dismounted and managed to kill 9 or 10 of the enemy, amongst whom was one of Sirayo's sons, who was distinctly recognised. I have not as yet received a correct list of the enemy's loss, but I fancy it will be about 30. On our side two natives were killed, and one mortally wounded, one non-commissioned officer Native Contingent slightly wounded.

"I am in great hopes that the news of this storming of Sirayo's stronghold and the capture of so many of his cattle (about 500) may have a salutary effect in Zululand.

"Sirayo's men have, I am told, always been looked upon as the bravest in the country, and certainly those who were killed to-day fought with great courage. I have visited two wounded Zulus who were in our hospital, and have seen that they are well looked after. Directly they are well enough I shall let them go, so that they may tell their friends how the British make war. The country is in a terrible state from the rain, and I do not know how we shall manage to get our waggons across the valley near Sirayo's kraals; a large working party will start to-morrow to dig deep ditches on each side of the road which runs across a broad swamp, and I hope that under this treatment it may consolidate. Sixteen oxen is too few to draw even 4,000 lbs., and I am sending an order for sufficient oxen to be sent up so as to make each span up to 20; whether they are procurable remains to be seen. I am afraid our losses have been so heavy, and the demands for draught oxen so great, that the transport direction will find a difficulty in complying with the demand.

"The soldiers are in excellent health and spirits, and do not seem to feel either physically or morally the continual duckings which they get from the daily thunderstorms.

"Yesterday's and to day's work do both British and Native a great deal of good, and, I am sure has given great confidence to our camp followers."

Another private letter dated Rorke's Drift, January 11th, says, "The crossing is "going on without hitch. All the troops are across, and, excepting the mounted men "who have escorted the General to meet Colonel Wood between Zilizi and Neeceni "Hills, are formed for defence on the opposite ridge. Zulus are watching from the

" hills near the river, but none of the enemy are in sight. I enclose very rough sketch " which perhaps may be understood" (vide information).

From another letter dated the 12th January, the following extract is taken:—" I was " settling various matters in camp, when Coghill rode in having been sent back to order " the 2/24th, and 2nd Native Contingent to march to join the 1/24th and 1st Native " Contingent and mounted men, who had left camp at 5.40 a.m., and were then, 7 a.m., " about 3½ miles away. I started to join the column, and found them about 4 miles " away under a short range of hills running N.N.W. by S.S.E., the infantry were " halted at the south end under a krantz, but the mounted men were ascending a neck " of ground at the north end to get round the other side of the range. I concluded the " General and Colonel Glyn were with these troops and rode to them, but I found " Major Russell in command. When the force got round the end of the range, and " were moving along the slopes of the other side the enemy began firing from the Krantz " which ran nearly all round the hill."

The Mounted Infantry and Police were ordered to dismount and with horses under cover, commenced a front attack, while the Natal Carbineers, Newcastle Mounted Infantry, and Buffalo Border Guard, make an attack on the right flank.

The men behaved very well, and the Volunteers soon settled down, and worked coolly and steadily, Shepstone commanding them very well. In about an hour the enemy was driven over the top of the mountain, and down the other side with a loss of about a dozen men killed. Six or seven were counted on the ground, and three or four more in the caves. The event of the day is that one of the mounted men shot Unkumba, one of Sirayo's sons; one of those it is reported who accompanied the parties which murdered the two women.

Colonel Glyn's men at the other side of the mountain had work in dislodging the enemy from some caves, and are said to have killed about 15. Their own loss was one officer, Natal Native Contingent, wounded, and two natives killed.

[" *Plan of crossing Tugela*" *here.*]

Enclosure 7. in No. 20.

Camp Bemba's Kop, January 9, 1879.

I HAVE this day had an interview with the Chief Bemba, and explained to him that if he would act in accordance with my orders I would engage to protect and feed him, his wives, men, and children, and to guarantee the safety of his cattle.

The conditions I imposed on him were:—To send all his people, women and children, to me here at daybreak to-morrow, to deliver up all his arms and assegais to me in my camp for which I will pay him compensation.

In the event of his compliance with these terms, I shall send him and all his people to Utrecht.

He further stated that he had in his keeping some of the cattle belonging to Seketwayo. I have promised that if he complies with my instructions, I will guarantee the safety of these cattle also, whether Seketwayo sides with us or with Cetywayo.

Bemba has promised to comply with the conditions. He has left one of his men in my camp as a surety.

I am sending a waggon to bring in his children from the kraal to my camp at daybreak to-morrow.

(Signed) EVELYN WOOD,
Colonel.

Military Secretary to his Excellency
the High Commissioner.

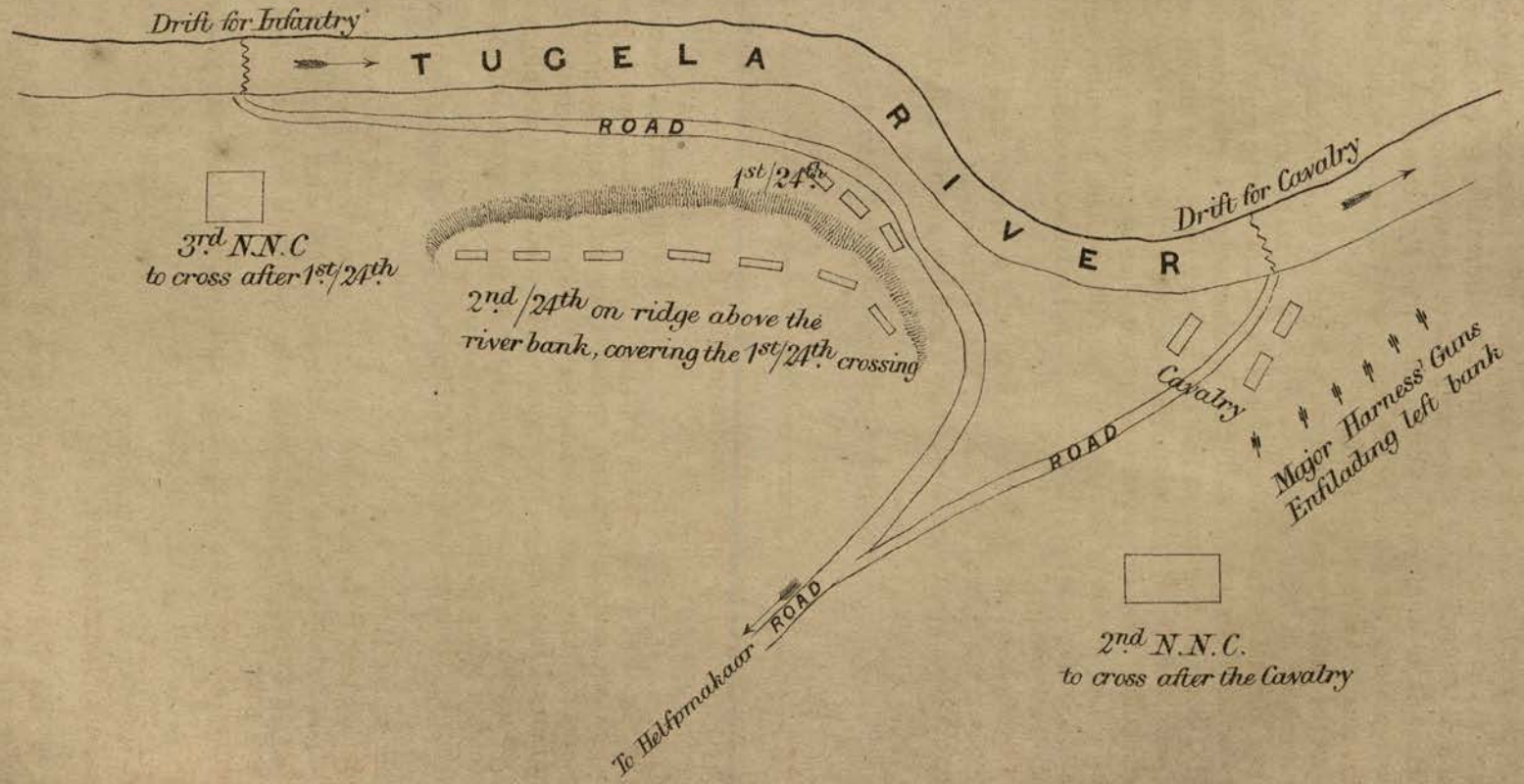
Mr. Lloyd, my Political Assistant, whom I have sent with a message to Seketwayo was stopped on the way by Imta, and not allowed to proceed.

(Signed) E. W.

Bemba's Kop Camp, January 10, 1879.

1. CAPTAIN Barton returned from a reconnaissance to Rorke's Drift and reported that he had met with no armed Zulus. He entered the camp at Rorke's Drift. He reports

PLAN OF CROSSING TUGELA.



DANCERFIELD LITH 22 BEDFORD ST COVENT GARDEN

that the country is very heavy, the rivers much swollen, and that he could find no road for waggons between this camp and Rorke's Drift.

2. The Chief Bemba has this day acceded to the conditions of which I advised you yesterday. He brought with him about 80 souls, and the under-mentioned property of Bemba and Seketwayo—

Cattle - - - -	600
Sheep - - - -	137
Goats - - - -	154

also the property of Umgulubu—

Cattle - - - -	64
Sheep - - - -	7
Goats - - - -	68

also the property of Bemba—

12 Tower Muskets.
47 Assegais.
15 Horns of powder.
10 Purses of bullets.

The arms and powder I have detained here. Bemba and his people have been sent to Utrecht leaving here this day.

3. I am this day leaving this camp with a portion of the column under my command, in the direction of Rorke's Drift. I have a detachment in charge of stores at Batte Spruit and am leaving a detachment here to protect the waggons and stores that I am temporarily leaving here.

I expect to return here in about four days' time. My object being to support the crossing of No. 3 column.

(Signed) EVELYN WOOD,
Colonel.

Military Secretary to his Excellency
the High Commissioner.

Camp Bembuskop, January 13, 1879.

1. SHORTLY after leaving the General on the 11th instant I seized some cattle belonging to Inkomi and Sirayo, the exact number is at present unknown, about 2,000. The Zulus made only a show of resistance, stating that they were surprised, though they had received warning from me on the previous day that war would commence on the 11th instant. They did not expect that the troops would reach them on the 11th.

2. Owing to the hard work undergone by the troops of the column under my command, which has been greatly increased by the heavy rains, it has been impossible to obtain any accurate return of the head of cattle captured. The Europeans in this column having marched 46 miles in 27½ hours, and a portion of the native levies having marched direct from Utrecht on the previous day.

3. In addition to these cattle I have taken 2,000 or 3,000 head from the Sondolosi tribe.

Sondolosi was the deceased brother of Seketwayo. This tribe made some show of resistance, and one Zulu was killed by Wood's Irregulars in self-defence.

I am assured by the Commandant that the Zulus offered resistance to the capture of the cattle, firing on the native levies.

4. As I am most anxious to give all encouragement to the men of Seketwayo to come in, I have kept all the cattle taken from his tribe and from that of Sondolosi in the vicinity of the camp, in order that in the event of Seketwayo coming in I may return them to the owners.

5. I am sending a Dutchman with one of Cetywayo's petty Chiefs at 3 a.m. to-morrow to tell him he can have all his cattle back if he will come in here.

6. At daylight on the 12th instant I despatched a party under Captain Barton, of the Frontier Light Horse, accompanied by Piet Uys, a burgher, to the vicinity of Mboona, a petty Chief, who has given considerable trouble to the Transvaal farmers. His men refused to disarm, and I regret to state that in order to carry out my instructions the party under Captain Barton's commands found it necessary to take the lives of seven Zulus. Although I regret this circumstance I am convinced that it was entirely owing to the forbearance shown by Captain Barton, Mr. Piet Uys, and the party under them that so few Zulus were killed, which forbearance enabled many to escape with their arms.

Captain Barton and his party brought back to camp about 540 head of cattle. Some few of these I shall return to some friendly natives.

7. I have reason to believe that about 50 adults of Seketwayo's tribe have already come into this camp and that more will follow to-morrow and the next day. I am therefore most anxious to refrain from taking any steps which might discourage these men from coming in.

8. About 15 stand of arms were brought in and given up at the camp yesterday.

(Signed) Evelyn Wood, Colonel,
Commanding No. 4. Column.

To the Secretary to his Excellency the
High Commissioner.

Enclosure 8. in No. 20.

From the Lieutenant-General Commanding in South Africa to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for War.

Head-quarter Camp, Zululand, near Rorke's Drift.
January 14, 1879.

Sir,

On the 11th January, the day after the expiration of the full period for the Zulu King to meet the whole of the demands of Her Majesty's Government, No. 3 Column under the command of Colonel Glyn, C.B., crossed the Buffalo River into Zululand.

Owing to the very heavy rains which have been of daily occurrence the river was much swollen, and the operation was not an easy one.

A barrel raft, a pont, and a small boat were used for the passage of the European Infantry and the arms of the mounted men, these latter troops, together with the Native Contingent, crossed at the ford lower down.

The river has been unfordable since the 11th and had been so for some time previously. On this occasion Captain Hayes of the Native Contingent, behaved in such a gallant manner as to cause my mentioning his name in General Orders, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

A heavy mist shrouded the crossing of the forces which was completed, as far as the troops were concerned by 6.30 a.m.

There had been reason at one time to believe in the probability of our being opposed at this point, but from some cause or other the Zulu King appears at the last moment to have given instructions not to oppose our advance. It was well known, however, that the Chief Usirayo, whose sons had been demanded by the British Government, had expressed his intention of fighting, his country lay immediately in our front, and his own kraal was within four miles of the Drift.

3. In the meantime Colonel Wood, V.C., C.B., commanding No. 4 Column had been halted at Bemba's Kop, since the 6th instant, about 35 miles from Rorke's Drift.

I had sent instructions to him to meet me with his mounted men on the 11th in the direction of the Stelezi Hill, which I calculated would prove to be about halfway.

Taking with me the bulk of the mounted men of No. 3 Column consisting of the Imperial Mounted Natal Carbineers, Natal Police, Newcastle Rifles, and Buffalo Border Guard, I rode in that direction, the heavy mist soon after lifted, and we traversed an open undulating country; at about 15 miles Colonel Wood met us, accompanied by the Frontier Light Horse, and some natives, mounted and foot, called "Wood's Irregulars."

He had marched the day previously 12 miles and moved a portion of his force on the 11th in my direction, thinking the first reports might prove groundless, viz., that a strong Zulu force would attack Colonel Glyns (No. 3) Column as it crossed.

4. I was completely satisfied with the account Colonel Wood gave me of the efficiency of his column with respect to its transport and commissariat arrangements, and its ability to move forward at once. I attribute the satisfactory state of the column to Colonel Wood's energy and military knowledge.

5. Colonel Wood returned to his camp the same day. I have not heard since from him, but I sent him an express yesterday the 13th. I returned the same day to the camp of No. 3 Column which is pitched on the rising ground on the left bank of the Buffalo River.

Several hundred head of cattle, &c. were taken by No. 3 and 4 columns, on the 11th. This I considered desirable on political grounds, as they all belonged to Usirayo as well as from military necessities.

6. Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, R.E., commanding No. 2 Column met me on my return to camp, as he wished personally to report on certain matters connected with his command. He informed me the country in his front was quite quiet, the women and

old people in their kraals, but the army with the King. This information is confined up to date.

I directed this officer to move one of his three battalions to watch, and eventually cross at the gates of Natal between Rorke's Drift and the Umsinga Mountain, while he and the mounted men and rocket battery were to join me with No. 3 Column. I directed the remaining two battalions to cross at Middledrift, as soon as Colonel Pearson with No. 1 Column had reached Ekowe.

7. No. 1 Column under Colonel Pearson was to have commenced crossing on the 12th at 4.30 a.m.; the wet weather had seriously delayed the arrival of stores, but from reports received last night I have reason to hope anxiety on this head is for the present at an end. The Tugela had been in very heavy flood, and the difficulties in crossing thereby were seriously increased. Colonel Pearson states that a hawser with anchor was carried away during the night of the 8th instant down the stream from where it had been deeply buried in the opposite bank; it required 500 men to haul it back by main force.

In laying it across again I regret to say a seaman of the "Active" (name not forwarded in report) was drowned; a boat's crew nearly shared the same fate, and Lieutenant Craigie of the "Active," having been sucked down by the current under the pont, which had turned nearly over, was rescued by a Krooman.

Small parties of armed Zulus came within range of No. 1 column, but no act of hostility on their part had taken place up to date of last report (11th January).

8. Very great difficulty has been experienced from the same causes as have delayed the arrival of supplies to No. 3 column, and it cannot be permitted to move forward until one month's supplies are stored on the right bank of the Buffalo, in addition to the 15 days' supply with the column itself.

Between this camp and Greytown alone, a distance of some 70 miles, three rivers are now impassable, and wagons have to cross by ferries, a laborious operation requiring more skilled labour than we at present have available.

The road at various points requires the most constant supervision, and in some parts the heavy rain frequently dislodges huge boulders from the hill sides overhanging the roadway, and in many places water courses become torrents after an hour's rain.

Beyond this camp towards the Isepezi Hill (my first objective point) the road will require great labour to make it passable, but strong working parties have already been at work. The transport difficulties are augmented by the great mortality in oxen, this is inevitable, but it will probably decrease in a few weeks' time.

9. The welcome reinforcements are all on their way, but I feel constrained to say that had the Commissariat and Transport services been strengthened during the period of preparation we should not be so much delayed during that of execution.

I have, however, only referred to these difficulties for the purpose of explaining the reasons for a very probable slow advance, which otherwise might not be understood, for it must be remembered that nothing but cattle can be obtained from the country itself.

10. On the day following the crossing of the 3rd column at Rorke's Drift, I directed Colonel Glyn, C.B., to make a reconnaissance with the mounted men in the direction of the Isipezi Hill, while the valley of the Bashee was to be traversed by a portion of the infantry.

The troops left camp at daylight, and on reaching the Bashee the mounted scouts reported that armed Zulus were observed leaving the kraals driving cattle up under the precipices.

I should observe that the Chief is himself with the King, that one of his sons with 15 led horses had been seen leaving this country by a party from Colonel Wood's force several days ago. As, however, it is well known that we had made a distinct demand for the punishment of the sons of this Chief, and that his clan was one of the bravest and most warlike of the Zulu nation, I considered it very desirable to punish them at once by capturing their cattle. Accordingly Colonel Glyn directed 3 companies 1/24th Regiment, and 1/3rd Regiment Natal Native Contingent, to advance and capture the cattle, while Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, 12th Lancers, in command of the mounted portion of the force, was directed to continue along the wagon track to the high ground above.

By 8.30 a.m. the precipitous sides of the Ngudu Mountain were occupied by the infantry, when a fire was opened upon them by the Zulus, who were occupying very strong positions in the caves and rocks above.

A fight ensued which lasted for about half an hour, the mountain side was cleared, the cattle and horses were captured, the Zulus, left behind to defend the cattle, made however a stubborn resistance, and 10 dead bodies were counted in the rocks and 9 prisoners taken, 3 of whom were wounded. This, however, probably does not represent their total loss.

A man severely wounded was found yesterday and brought in.

In the meantime before the mounted men had quite reached the higher terrace of the mountains they were fired upon by a force of Zulus concealed by rocks. These were attacked and dispersed with a loss of 16 found killed, among whom it is said was a son of Usirayo "Umkumbi-Ka Zulu."

It is stated by a prisoner that another of the Chief's sons was also killed on this occasion, but it has not been verified.

I have the pleasure of reporting that the behaviour of the Natal Native Contingent was on the occasion all that could be desired, and by their list of casualties it will be seen that they did not shrink from closing in on the enemy.

I beg to enclose a detailed list of casualties. The cattle captured by this force up to date is 413 cattle, 235 sheep, 332 goats, and several horses.

The division of such a booty will be made agreeably to the regulations sanctioned by his Excellency the High Commissioner and reported by him for the sanction of Her Majesty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-Governor.

COPY OF GENERAL ORDERS.

The Lieutenant-General Commanding has received with the greatest satisfaction a report from the Lieutenant Colonel Commanding Mounted Corps No. 3 column giving an account of the gallant conduct of Captain Hayes, 3rd Regiment Natal Native Contingent. On the 11th instant this officer at the risk of his own life saved that of Private Price, of the Imperial Infantry, who, when crossing the Buffalo River, was with his horse swept away by the rapid current, and would have been drowned had it not been for the "gallantry, coolness, and determination" of Captain Hayes.

The Lieutenant-General has much pleasure in thus publicly bringing to notice this courageous act, which reflects the highest credit on the officer concerned.

(Signed) J. NORTH CREALOCK, Lieutenant-Colonel,
January 15, 1879. Assistant Military Secretary.

RETURN of losses inflicted on the enemy by the forces since the 10th January.

Date. 1879.	Place.	Force engaged.	Killed	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Stock captured.			
						Horses.	Cattle.	Goats.	Sheep.
12 Jany.	Bashee Valley and Ngudu Mountain.	No. 3 Column. Mounted corps, 1/24 Regt. - 1/3 Regt., N.N.C. 2/3 Do.	30	4	10	13	413	332	235

The above is taken from certified returns from the forces engaged.

Headquarter Camp, January 15, 1879. (Signed) J. NORTH CREALOCK, Lieutenant-Colonel, Assistant Military Secretary.

No. 21.

The RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART., to GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

SIR, Downing Street, February 22, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches (noted in the margin) on the Zulu question, all which you will perceive have been printed for Parliament in the Paper [C.-2222].

December 13, 14, 16, 20, 23, 1878*

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

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* Nos. 53, 54, 55, 56, and 57 of [C.-2222,] of February 1879.

Appendix I.

ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.*

17, King William Street, Charing Cross,
November 1, 1878.

SIR,

I AM desired by the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society respectfully to call your attention to the expulsion of the loyal Gaikas from the country which they have so long occupied, and in which they have lately given strong proofs of their fidelity to the British Crown.

The Committee fail to understand upon what just grounds these loyal subjects of the Queen have been compelled to leave their own country and subjected to the same treatment as the rebel members of the tribe. It may, of course, be answered that the Gaikas, both loyal and rebel, were settled on lands which after the former rebellion had been confiscated to the Crown; and that, therefore, the Cape Government in evicting the natives without any reference to their personal conduct during the rebellion, is acting strictly within its legal right. The Committee cannot attach any weight to a view of the subject so purely technical as this, and they equally fail to perceive any force in the argument employed by Mr. Sprigg, the Premier, to the effect that the Gaikas as a tribe had forfeited their location. It was by no means necessary that the tribal system should be maintained among the loyal Gaikas. His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, in a Despatch dated January 9th last, declared that it was a part of his policy to encourage the substitution of individual for tribal tenure, and in proof of the value of this system he stated that "the Gaika cultivators who are mixed up with the industrious " and intelligent German settlers are rapidly learning to cultivate almost as carefully " and with as much industry as their European neighbours." Why should not the loyal Gaikas, or, at all events, that portion of them which desired to do so, have been allowed to remain on their own lands, subject to such reasonable conditions as his Excellency thought it expedient to impose? The Committee have been greatly touched by the report of the interview which took place early in September between Mr. Brownlee, Chief Commissioner of Native Affairs, and 25 loyal headmen of Sandilli's tribe. They think that no one reading that report can doubt that these unfortunate natives entertained a deep sense of the injustice of their treatment. Although much has been said, but it is to be feared with little justification, in praise of the discipline and forbearance of the burgher forces, these Gaikas, in spite of their loyalty, had seen their huts burned and their gardens pillaged as if they too had been rebels, and yet after all this suffering they were informed that the Government which might have been expected to protect its loyal subjects, had ordered them to quit their country, and henceforth to take up their abode in a new location across the Kei. It is not surprising that they gave way to a feeling of despair, and that the death of Tyali, one of the most influential of Sandilli's councillors, who in January last had registered himself as a loyal Gaika, should have been hastened by this untoward event.

The attention of the Committee has been called to the cruelties which it is alleged have accompanied the expulsion of the loyal Gaikas from their old location, and in particular to a well authenticated statement which appears in the "Cape Argus" of September 21st. The writer says, "I cannot comprehend how a man like the Governor, " Sir Bartle Frere, can consent to the loyal natives being driven over the Kei. 'This, " 'then, is the reward for not having joined in the war,' is what we hear out of every " man's mouth. It is heartrending to behold these already half-starved creatures being " driven like slaves from their homes, which, as soon as the people have put their foot " out of them, are given a prey to the flames. The sick have been abandoned in the " open air, and along the roads one finds poor forsaken children. Is this done by a " Christian Government."

The Committee feel convinced that if this statement be true Sir Bartle Frere was entirely ignorant of the manner in which the orders of the Government have been executed, and they also entertain grave doubts as to whether his Excellency approves of any part of the policy which has been pursued.

Many Colonists as well as natives look to this society to make known to you, Sir, the indignation and alarm with which they regard these proceedings.

The Committee earnestly hope that you will order a searching inquiry to be made into these allegations. If they should prove to be unfounded, the Committee will be

* This was accidentally omitted from the previous papers.

unfeignedly thankful. If, on the other hand, injustice has been done, they trust that you, as the responsible minister of the Crown, will insist upon reparation being made to the loyal Gaikas and their families.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. W. CHESSON,
Secretary.

The Right Hon. Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Appendix II.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

COPY of a COMMISSION passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, appointing the RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY BARTLE EDWARD FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to be Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa.—Dated February 27, 1877.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India: To Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Baronet, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Commander of Our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, with its territories and dependencies, greeting.

Recites Sir H. Barkly's Commission as High Commissioner, dated 5th September, 1870.

WHEREAS we did by Our Commission under Our sign manual and signet, bearing date at Balmoral, the 5th day of September 1870, in the 34th year of Our reign, appoint Our trusty and well beloved Sir Henry Barkly, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath (now Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George), Our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid, to be Our High Commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the territories adjacent or contiguous to the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope: And whereas we desire to have and maintain friendly relations with the inhabitants and governments of all other countries and territories in South Africa, besides those territories herein-before mentioned; and in order thereto, We are minded to appoint a High Commissioner, who may act in Our name and on Our behalf, and in all respects represent Our Crown and authority in respect of the native tribes in South Africa, and further may hold communication with the Presidents or Representatives of the two Republics established in South Africa, or with the Representative of any foreign power: Now know you that We

Revocation of Sir H. Barkly's Commission as High Commissioner of 5th September, 1870.

have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine Our said recited commission: And further know you that We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty of you, the said Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have thought fit to constitute and appoint, and do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Our High Commissioner for the territories of South Africa adjacent to Our said Colony, or with which it may be expedient that We should have relations, and which

Appointment of Sir H. B. E. Frere as High Commissioner.

are not included within the territory of either of the said Republics, or of any foreign power, and for the transacting of any business which may lawfully be transacted by you with the aforesaid Presidents or Representatives. And We do further require you by all proper means to invite and obtain the co-operation of the Governments of the said republics or of any foreign power towards the preservation of peace and safety in South Africa, and the general welfare and advancement of its territories and peoples.

Functions and Duties of High Commissioner.

II. And We do hereby require and enjoin you as such Our High Commissioner, in Our name and on Our behalf, to take all such measures and to do all such matters and things as can and may lawfully and discreetly be done by you for preventing the recurrence of any irruption into Our said possessions of the tribes inhabiting the territories aforesaid, and for maintaining Our said possessions in peace and safety, and for promoting as far as may be possible the good order, civilisation, and moral and religious instruction of the tribes aforesaid, and with that view for placing them under some settled form of government.

Officers and others to obey and

III. And we do hereby command and require all Our officers and ministers, civil and military, and all the inhabitants of Our said possessions, with their territories and

dependencies, and all other Our loyal subjects in South Africa, to be aiding and assisting unto you, the said Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, as High Commissioner. assist the High Commissioner.

Given at Our Court at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, this 27th day of February 1877, in the 40th year of our reign.

By Her Majesty's command.
(Signed) CARNARVON.

Appendix III.

TWO DESPATCHES FROM SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE STATING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT AN INTERVIEW WITH THE ENVOYS OF CETYWAYO ON THE ZULU FRONTIER.

No. 1.

ADMINISTRATOR SIR T. SHEPSTONE, K.C.M.G., to the EARL OF CARNARVON.
(Received January 21, 1878.)

MY LORD, Utrecht, Transvaal, December 1, 1877.

WHEN several months ago Cetywayo's messengers to me at Pretoria returned to Zululand, I desired them to inform Cetywayo that I proposed shortly to undertake a tour along the eastern and south-eastern frontier of the Transvaal, and that I should most probably visit Utrecht in the course of my journey. I referred to the disputed boundary line between this country and Zululand, and said that I should be glad to receive any suggestions from him on that subject on my arrival at Utrecht.

2. I informed your Lordship of this in a Despatch which, because of my absence from the seat of Government, I am unable to refer to, and I expressed my intention to avoid raising any serious issue, I was bound by that message to send Cetywayo notice of my presence at Utrecht, and to refer to the terms of the communication which I had made to his messengers at Pretoria, and I did so.

3. It was to be expected that the outbreak of hostilities between the Government of the Cape and Kreli would produce an unfavourable effect upon Cetywayo and the Zulus, and that to enter upon any important discussion with them in the presence of the numerous reports of defeat and disaster to the whites which native ingenuity would fabricate might seriously compromise the position of this country.

4. The intelligence of this outbreak reached me too late, however, to admit of my avoiding the discussion which I had long before especially invited, and I was obliged to make the best of the case as it stood.

5. Cetywayo sent me a message of welcome in reply to mine announcing my arrival, and informed me that he had directed all the leading men of Zululand to start at once to meet and discuss Zulu matters with me at Utrecht.

6. Knowing that this involved the assembly of a large number of Zulus, and feeling that it would be imprudent to allow them to traverse the country occupied by farmers, against whom very strong feeling existed, I moved with my escort of 45 mounted infantry, under Lieutenants Carrington and Browne, of the 1/24th Regiment, nearer to the border.

7. I was accompanied also by Mr. H. C. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs; Captain Clarke, R.A., Commissioner at Lydenberg; Mr. Rudolph, Landdrost of Utrecht; and Dr. Ash, A.M.D. I would not allow any of the farmers of the country to be present at the interview, lest the excited state in which I had learned that the Zulus were, might lead to the discussion becoming too warm to admit of my keeping it under control.

8. The meeting took place at the Blood River on the 18th October last. There were about 500 Zulus present, a number which although not so large as I had expected, were enough to have caused alarm, desertion of farms, and much damage to property, had they been allowed to traverse the occupied country.

9. Most of these Zulus were leading men, and at their head was Umnyamana, Cetywayo's Prime Minister, and most influential subject. Their bearing was haughty, they were evidently excited, and in a very self-asserting humour, and it seemed difficult for them to treat me with the respect that they had usually paid me. They brought four oxen as an offering, which they said "my son," Cetywayo, had sent me, but it was, nevertheless, very evident that our meeting was not to be a very cordial or pleasant one, and that my difficulty would be to avoid bringing about a crisis.

10. The meeting took place on the top of a high ridge, from which most of the country, commonly called "the disputed territory," could be seen, and it lasted several hours.

11. At no moment during the whole interview was there apparent the smallest hope of any reasonable arrangement being arrived at, the arrogant and overbearing tone adopted by the Prime Minister was of course concurred in by all his colleagues, and although occasionally expressions were uttered by a few betraying anxiety or regret on account of the language used, such expressions were instantly rebuked and suppressed.

12. Umnyamana recounted the history of the Zulu nation, its conquests, its prowess, and its strength; he said that Natal, and far beyond Natal towards the Cape Colony, belonged to the Zulu nation by right of conquest, as did also the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; the Zulu nation did not now, he proceeded to say, demand Natal or the other countries he had named, but they did demand that the Zulu boundary should, for the present, run up the left bank of the Buffalo River, and on to the Vaal River, thence up the Vaal River to its sources, and to the sea.

13. I reminded him that in his recital he had omitted a very important occurrence in the history of the Zulus, namely, that after all these achievements the Zulus had been conquered by the emigrant farmers, their King Dingaan killed, and their country proclaimed Boer territory, so that the right of conquest which he had spoken of had been after all wrested from the Zulus by the Boers, and by the Boers also had the late Zulu King Panda, the father of Cetywayo, been placed in power. I pointed out how unreasonable their demand for territory was, and that they must have known when they made it that it could not be agreed to.

14. My history was admitted to be correct, but the admission produced no effect, because the utmost they would concede was the line of the Buffalo up to the confluence of the Ingcuba, the stream that waters the township of Utrecht, and thence to the source of this stream, and after that the watershed to the "Umkondo," commonly called Assegai River, thence down that river.

15. This it was as impossible to assent to as the other, and I proposed that we should take the "Income" or Blood River, with the "Iduduse" or "Lyn Spruit," and a strip of country beyond these to remain unoccupied by either side for a term of years, as the basis or starting point for our discussion.

16. I must, however, explain, that I proposed this basis from the representations made from time to time by the Zulus to the Natal Government on the subject of this boundary question, and which I had considered to be generally correct, but that I certainly should not have made such a proposal had I known what I afterwards learned, and what I shall hereafter describe of the real state of the case, our ignorance of which in Natal is to be attributed to the fact that the late Republican Government, as far as I am aware, never communicated the grounds or evidence of the claim it advanced.

17. My proposal was, however, instantly and utterly rejected by the Zulu indunas; the "Income" (Dutch Blood River) is in the middle of Zululand, said the Prime Minister, and all concurred, although farms along that river were then in occupation of Boers, and had been without interruption for 18 or 20 years.

18. From the nature of these demands, the manner and tone in which they were made, and the constant reference to the use of force on their part, it was evident that the Zulu indunas were attempting to bring on an immediate crisis, and this it was my object to avoid; I therefore proposed that the King should be referred to, to ascertain his views as to what should be considered the basis or starting point of the negotiations regarding the boundary question.

19. The indunas declined to make any such reference, they said that they fully represented the Zulu nation, and that Cetywayo would not venture to undo anything that they might decide upon, and that they had already given their decision; I demurred to this, and said that had they given me the whole of Zulu country, I should not consider the arrangements final until I had received Cetywayo's confirmation. The indunas

at length yielded, but said I might send my own messengers to represent my views, because they had nothing to refer, I consented, and messengers from both sides were sent.

20. Cetywayo's reply favoured my view as regards the Blood River, but not further.

21. The messengers from both sides had before reaching me, on their return from the King, to meet the indunas, who were on their way back to the Zulu country from the place of conference with me, and had to inform them as well me of what the King had said.

22. Upon hearing the King's reply the indunas indignantly refused to accept or acknowledge it, and desired my messengers to tell me that, although the King had said this they would not consent to his view or permit it to be carried out. Cetywayo had desired them to send certain other messengers whom he had named with mine on to me, to confirm on his and their behalf what he had said to my messengers, this, however, they declined to do, and declared that they would go on to Cetywayo and remonstrate with him.

23. The Prime Minister, Umnyamana, was the spokesman. He behaved in a violent and threatening manner, and the other indunas seemed to acquiesce.

24. I had not before the meeting thought it necessary to make any proposal with the object of securing non-interference with the farmers pending the discussion of the question of boundary. I took it for granted that the mere circumstance of the discussion having come into existence would secure such non-interference; but in this I was disappointed, for it has since transpired that on the very day of the meeting, the 18th October, if not before, a body of messengers had been sent by the indunas to deliver personally to every farmer living in territory which they (the indunas) chose to consider in dispute an order in the name of Cetywayo, demanding his immediate abandonment of his homstead, or abide by the consequences; and this order, with its accompanying threat, was actually spoken to some of the farmers on the 19th, that is, the day after the meeting, 40 miles distant from the spot where it had been held.

25. Finding from what took place at the meeting that the negotiation was likely to last longer than I had anticipated, it was at once apparent that steps should be taken to prevent any molestation of the farmers during its continuance. I was not aware that the interference described had already taken place; but it happened that the day on which it occurred, that is the day after the meeting, I sent a messenger to Cetywayo proposing that pending the issue of the negotiations no interference with the population, either Zulu or Boer, occupying any territory in dispute should be allowed.

26. As the Zulu indunas were still in the immediate vicinity of the spot where the meeting had been held, this proposal was communicated to them on the day that it was despatched to Cetywayo, so that they were not ignorant of it.

27. Cetywayo had assented to my proposal, and the indunas were made acquainted with his having assented to it, when they met the messengers returning from the King on the occasion of their violent behaviour above alluded to.

28. It afterwards appeared that instead of paying any deference to the assent of their King, the indunas at once sent fresh messengers to repeat the order to quit and its accompanying threat to subjects of this Government, who had been in occupation of their farms for 12 or 15 years.

29. The meeting between the Zulu indunas and my messengers on their way back from Cetywayo, took place at the "Inhlazatye," on the 25th October, and the second Zulu order was delivered to the farmers on the 1st November, when commenced the abandonment of farms and crops, the wheat being ready for the sickle.

30. The demolition of houses and the chopping down of plantation and fruit trees immediately followed this abandonment, and a great deal of property has already been thus lost and destroyed.

31. A third party of men, sent to carry out the same orders, arrived at Mr. W. Craig's place on the 11th November, and this being early reported to me, I determined to have the party promptly followed up by trusty indunas, and required to state the authority upon which they had acted, as I could not believe that Cetywayo had been guilty of the discourtesy of taking such steps while negotiations were actually pending. The statement of the men thus sent is annexed, marked A.

32. I had also despatched Captain Clarke, R.A., on a journey of observation, and his report is annexed, marked B.

33. On the 15th November, the Rev. Mr. Filter, Pastor of the Luneburg German Settlement, on the northern or left bank of the Pongolo, reported to me personally, that on the 13th instant a party of Zulu messengers delivered to him and the other German settlers there, the usual notice to quit.

34. It will be seen from the statement of "Manyosi," marked A, that the Zulu messengers themselves were unable to justify or defend the action which they had been sent to carry out in the face of discussion on the subject actually pending.

35. On the evening of the 16th I received information that a Zulu force, supposed to be about 2,000 men, afterwards ascertained to be considerably more, all fully armed, was passing up to the Pongolo river to build a military kraal there, in the immediate vicinity of the German settlement of Luneberg.

36. Although Mr. Potter, who brought this report, also informed me that the orders of the force were to molest no one, but to defend itself if interfered with, the fact that Cetywayo had sent to take forcible possession of any portion of the territory which might be considered to be in dispute, while I was, as I supposed, in friendly negotiations with him on the subject, seemed such an unfriendly measure as to cause me to suspect that this was intended to provoke, or perhaps commence active hostilities.

37. The whole country was thrown into the greatest alarm and confusion, and farmers fled from their farms, leaving their property and crops to be robbed and destroyed.

38. The site which had been selected to build this military kraal upon, north of the Pongolo River, not south as I had at first supposed, was another source of uneasiness. A military force there would command the districts and towns of Utretcht and Wakkerstrom and cause the evacuation of many farms hitherto supposed to be secure, unless a strong military force were kept at both these places to give confidence to the people.

39. At no former period of Zulu history has any such occupation been made, nor have the Zulu people any tradition of having lived in the country north of the Pongolo River before the year 1863, and this only at a point many miles on the river below that now selected.

40. Then again, the placing of a military force in such a position cannot be said to be necessary either for the government of Zululand or for its defence against external enemies, and can operate only as a constant menace and source of dangerous irritation, even should the country be given back to Zululand.

41. I felt, therefore, that I was bound to prevent the establishment of this military kraal by every means in my power, and my first step was to despatch Captain Clarke and Mr. Rudolph to meet the force and remonstrate with the commanders of it, and if possible to induce them to delay the construction of the kraal until I had had an opportunity of communicating on the subject with their King.

42. I also communicated the circumstances in which I was placed to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and requested to be authorised to call upon the troops at Newcastle (27 miles away) to move to any point that might be found necessary to secure the quiet of these two districts. His Excellency at once complied with my request in so far as the possible needs of his own government would permit him, and although no necessity has as yet arisen for me to act upon the authority which Sir Henry Bulwer has given, I feel much relieved by the knowledge that I can make use of it.

43. I append Captain Clarke's and Mr. Rudolph's report of their journey and interview with the commanding officers of the force sent to build the military kraal, and I am glad to report that on the following day, after doing but very little work, and that little but very ineffectually, the whole force was marched back to Zululand.

44. It is reported that on their homeward march the men of this force did much damage to the houses and property which they found abandoned, and I have since received many and bitter complaints from the sufferers.

45. Before the occurrence I have last described, I had determined upon sending Mr. H. C. Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Rudolph, Landdrost of Utrecht, to the Zulu King to complain to him of the course which the indunas had adopted of sending threatening and peremptory notices to the subjects of this Government living on lands which had been regularly and legally granted to them, and that these notices had been sent without my knowledge, and in spite of the pendency of friendly negotiations between him and me on the subject of the country they occupied. I also intended that the mission should endeavour to obtain his consent to some temporary line that would save the farmers settled in that part of the country from the losses and ruin which sudden

abandonment of their farms and crops would subject them to, and I had sent native messengers to announce my intention to send these officers.

46. When suddenly, and in the midst of friendly discussion, I found myself with a Zulu force behind me, of whose approach or destination I had received no notice from the Zulu King, I hesitated to authorise their departure, well knowing that such a force could be put in motion only by the King's authority; and while thus doubting, a large embassy to me from Cetywayo arrived. It consisted of 16 indunas, who, although not of the highest rank, were all men of consequence, and there were some among them who held military commands.

47. They said they had been sent by Cetywayo to approve of the answers I had given to the indunas at the meeting on the Blood River, that they had asked too much, that now he wished his "father," as they said he styled me, to say where the boundary ought to be, and that he (Cetywayo) would object if he felt inclined to do so.

48. These messengers alluded to the force sent to the Pongolo as an occurrence which they had heard of on their way, and they apologised because it had been sent without any notice or explanation to me. I told them that I could not accept their explanation as satisfactory, and quickly following as that invasion did, the four other acts of aggression, which I also explained to them. I was unable to understand what Cetywayo's intentions were, and was reluctant to adopt the only interpretation which recent acts seemed to force upon me, and that, under these circumstances, I felt that I could not send the embassy I had intended to send to complain to the King of actions which I had hitherto attributed to the indunas.

49. The messengers, however, earnestly pressed upon me their request to carry out my intentions, such a mission would be the only means by which I could satisfy myself of the King's intentions, that I must not take for granted that the interpretation which I had put upon events, and which they fully admitted that those events justified, was the interpretation which their King intended should be put upon them. They could not themselves explain them, nor were they authorised to do so.

50. I ultimately consented to send the mission so as to arrive at the same time as they did at the King's kraal, and informed the messengers that although after what had happened I had but little hope of any satisfactory issue, I should entrust to my own officers the explanation of my views regarding the boundary line. The messengers thanked me warmly for consenting to their recommendation, and begged of me to stand, as they said I had always stood, between the Zulu people and the precipice.

51. With regard to the question of boundary, it appears that in the early part of the year 1861 two sons of Panda, named Umtonga and Umgihlawa, fled to this place, Utrecht, for fear of their brother Cetywayo. Cetywayo at the head of a large force demanded that they should be given up to him, and to induce the Boer authorities to comply with his demands consented to grant a tract of country, which it was then agreed upon should be bounded by a line running nearly straight from the Buffalo River near "Rorke's Drift," to the Pongolo River, passing over Zungeni's neck or saddle. The boundary then existing as shown by the cession of country made by Panda in 1854, and by the occupation of the Boers, was up the Income, or Blood River, from its junction with the Buffalo, to the Idudsi Stream, or "Lyn Spruit" thence up that stream to the base of the range from which it issues, thence along the base of that range to a conspicuous point between the Pongolo and its tributaries, thence up the line of the Republic.

52. The Amaswazi territory was then bounded by the Pongolo, but by cession made to the Republic by the Amaswazi King in 1855, certain land to the north of, and down to, that River became the property of the Republic.

53. The new boundary line between the Republic and the Zulus agreed to by Cetywayo in March and April 1861, and late in the same year confirmed by Panda, was in 1875 (May 25th) proclaimed by Acting President Joubert, and is accurately laid down in Jeppe's map from Rorke's Drift on the Buffalo to the point marked Zungeni's Nek, but from that point it turns to the eastward, the line on the map follows that laid down in the Proclamation, but both are wrong, because the line of beacons laid down in 1864, in the manner which I shall presently describe, keeps the general direction of the line between "Rorke's Drift," and Zungeni's neck and should strike the Pongolo River at about the letter E in the name of the farm Silverton as shown in that map, there is no doubt in my mind from the investigation I have made that the angle thus formed by the Proclamation was an encroachment upon Zulu territory not warranted by the agreement of 1861.

54. The Zulus however deny this agreement and cession, and it therefore became necessary for me to investigate fully the circumstances connected with it.

55. Very little documentary evidence can as yet be found in the official records, there are, however, the agreements of March 1861, signed by Cetywayo on the 3rd April following, and the ratification of that agreement signed by Panda on 5th August 1861, but the most important testimony is that contained in the different sworn declarations, which I herewith transmit, of eye-witnesses and participators in the events of 1864 when the line of beacons was erected.

56. Of these events I have not yet been able to find any official record, but I have no doubt they exist in some of the offices and will eventually be forthcoming.

57. From the documents which accompany this Despatch, however, and from all the information I can otherwise gather, there seems to be no reason to doubt that an agreement was deliberately entered into by Cetywayo with the Utrecht Commission in the early part of 1861, by which territory was ceded to the Transvaal Government to the line I have above described.

58. This Utrecht Commission had been appointed a year or so before to undertake the management of all Zulu questions that might arise on the south-eastern border of the Republic, and had full powers to act as they did. Their instructions, which are both prudently conceived and ably drawn up, are annexed.

59. That the agreement and cession were made by Cetywayo to induce the Utrecht Commission to give up to him his two fugitive brothers and Dengezi, who had just before fled with them from Zululand to Utrecht, I have no doubt, and that these fugutives were given up on the occasion of this cession being made is also beyond question, but whatever criticism it may be thought right to indulge in with regard to this proceeding it must be said for the parties that the Utrecht Commission stipulated that the lives and property of the fugitives thus given up should be respected, and that Cetywayo kept his word to the extent certainly of allowing no personal harm to befall them.

60. It appears that no action upon this agreement of cession was taken by either party until December 1864, more than three years after it had been concluded; meanwhile individual Zulus gradually encroached more and more upon the territory thus ceded.

61. The cause for this inaction on the part of the Republican Government is alleged to have been civil disturbances that broke out between the different political parties in the State about that time, but whatever the cause may have been, it was not until the close of the year 1864 that Mr. President Pretorius and Mr. Paul Kruger with the other members of the Executive Council came to Utrecht for the purpose of inspecting the boundary, and placing conspicuous permanent beacons along it.

62. The President sent an embassy to Panda especially to inform him of the object of his visit, and to request him and Cetywayo to send Commissioners to assist in carrying it out. Panda sent Gebula and Cetywayo sent Gunjini to represent them respectively and authorised these indunas to order all Zulu subjects living northward of the line, about to be beaconed off to remove at once into Zulu territory. These Zulu Commissioners met the President and his party at a spot on the new line, *i.e.*, the line of 1861, and proceeded along it to the Buffalo River, where they began the erection of the beacons as described in the sworn depositions of the eye-witnesses and assistants.

63. It appears that the President took the precaution at the erection of each beacon to cause the Zulu Commissioners to place the first stone where the beacon should stand, after which it was built up by the President's party. This ceremony was observed on the erection by this party of every beacon on the line between the Buffalo River and the Pongolo, over Zungeni's Neck, and one beacon was built upon this neck or saddle. Mr. Pretorius took this precaution in the hope of preventing any question or dispute arising regarding this boundary line in future. The Zulu Commissioners, in accordance with their instructions, gave notice to all the Zulus whose residences were by the running of the boundary included in the Transvaal territory to remove; their crops were in the ground, and the direction given to them was that the men should prepare new kraals in Zululand while the families remained, as is their custom to take care of the crops. Mr. Pretorious, the President, however, interposed, and after arguments with some dissentients among his own party, decided that their was no such hurry, and that all hands might remain until the crops should be gathered. It is said that the Zulu Commissioners remonstrated against this on the ground that interference with any portion of the King's orders on the subject would cause subsequent trouble.

64. There appears to have been no disagreement or difference between the Zulu Commissioners and the President's party on any other question than that of the removal

of the Zulus just alluded to during the whole period they were together in traversing and erecting beacons on the line.

65. In a few months afterwards this proceeding, during which there seems to be no doubt that everything was carried out by mutual consent, and in regard to which the President of the Transvaal had taken such precautions to prevent misrepresentation and misunderstanding, was represented in a very different light to the Government of Natal.

66. This representation was made by Gebula himself, the representative of Panda, on the occasion referred to, and purported to be a message from Panda. I have not got the document before me, but the impression made on my mind by that message was that the Boers had proceeded to erect a line of beacons of their own accord, along a boundary that was disputed by the Zulus, without concert with the Zulu authorities, and in spite of their positive remonstrances, and this impression has gone forth to the world because the Government of the Republic never thought it necessary to state the circumstances of the case, and so the Zulu side of the question has alone become known.

67. I have met at Utrecht with a similar instance of Zulu misrepresentation bearing on the same question. In 1861 I was sent as Secretary for Native Affairs by the Government of Natal to Zululand, at the request of both Panda and Cetywayo, to put a stop to the bloodshed which quarrels between the sons on the question of the succession to the Zulu chieftanship were then causing and likely to cause. I succeeded in making an arrangement that settled the succession upon Cetywayo, this quieted the country. Panda expressed himself as most deeply grateful, and Cetywayo had every reason to feel as Panda had expressed himself.

68. There is on record in the office at Utrecht that on the 16th March 1861 a message was received from Cetywayo, thanking the Boers for stopping and taking care of Panda's two sons; explaining away my visit to Zululand, saying that he had refused to have anything to do with me, repudiating altogether the English influence, and placing himself and his people at the disposal of the Boers. There is a suggestion also that if the Boers ask him for land he will give it. This message was sent only a few days before Cetywayo moved towards Utrecht, to negotiate for the delivery to him of his brothers, and shows that the suggestion to give land was his.

69. When in 1873 I went to Zululand, to crown Cetywayo, he urged me very strongly to accept, on behalf of the British Government, the strip of land which he said was claimed by the Boers. I declined to do so, on the ground that it was already claimed. At Cetywayo's request, however, I consented to send a Commission there and then to examine this territory, and the boundary complained of. Mr. H. W. Taylor and two Natal native indunas, named Manleli and Manyosi, formed this Commission, and they started from Cetywayo's residence with three indunas, named "Sigulana," "Umbobonjwana," and Umbangambi, commissioned by Cetywayo to point out what it was wished my Commission should see, and they pointed out the boundary line of 1861 which had been beaconed off by mutual consent in 1864.

70. The line of occupation by the Boers at that time was the line known as the "Old "Hunting Road," between the Blood and Pongolo Rivers.

71. The Zulu Commissioners pointed this out, and said they would be glad if the Boers could be confined to the north of this "Old Hunting Road," and the British Government occupy south of that road, and between it and the beaconed lines.

72. Farms have been granted by title deed, and have been occupied and built upon to this road, and some have changed owners for large sums, and between this road and the beaconed line selections of farms have been permitted as was the custom of the late Government, but no occupation has taken place although the Government has received the fees charged for registration.

73. In speaking with me on the question of this boundary in 1873, Cetywayo told me that he could rightly claim to the Drakensberg, but he supposed that as his fathers had given the road to the Boers, he should have to consent to that, and there is evidence to show that Panda had at some former period granted this line of the "Old Hunting Road." However opposed to civilized ideas the conditions of the bargaining of 1861 may have been there can be no doubt that the bargain was made, and that the beacons along the boundary of the land ceded by this bargain were erected by the willing hands of both parties acting in concert in 1864.

74. Unless, therefore, the consideration sought on the one side and given on the other is to be held as nullifying the contract, the boundary between the Transvaal and Zululand is decided by the proof of that contract having been deliberately made and carried out.

75. The narrative and considerations set forth in this Despatch were practically the instructions which the Secretary for Native Affairs and Mr. Rudolph were directed to guide themselves by in their discussion with Cetywayo. They were, however, also directed to inform Cetywayo, that I do not wish for the present to press for the immediate occupation by the Transvaal up to that boundary, and that I shall not insist that without further discussion it shall be looked upon as the technical, or officially recognised boundary, between the two countries; that I am willing for the present, and, pending further consideration and mutual arrangement, to accept the line commonly known as the "Old Hunting Road." This road runs parallel with the beaconed line, but north of it, at an average distance of about 10 miles from it.

76. In short my object was to defer the outbreak of violence as long as might be possible without surrendering any right which the Transvaal possesses, and I need scarcely say that the white population in this country expect that Her Majesty's Government will be better able to vindicate those rights than that which it has superseded.

77. Messrs. Shepstone and Rudolph have returned from Cetywayo. I have not yet received their report, but as I am anxious that your Lordship should be at once placed in possession of as much of the history of late events here as it is possible for me to write in time for this mail, I shall give a sketch of the verbal report they have made to me, and transmit their report with the other Enclosures to this Despatch by next mail.

78. They stated that they were respectfully treated, but that Cetywayo expressed himself in the most bitter manner against the Boers, declared his determination to turn them out of all the country to which he laid claim, and the claim he then went on to make goes far north of the Pongolo River, and includes a large tract of settled country never claimed before. He was most emphatic in his language of defiance, and said he would receive no further communications on the subject of any other boundary than that which he had just laid down and which it is impossible for me to agree to.

79. He spoke most carelessly of war, said he should not begin it, but that I might do as I liked, he was ready, and could and would vanquish the Boers, whom he peremptorily desired me to remove at once, or "an accident would happen." He also expressed his determination to build the military kraal before referred to. He said that there lived "a man" at Pietermaritzburg, in Natal, who was my equal, in whose hands he would place himself if I cast him off, and that he would have a letter written to the "Queen" by that "man." He repeated this declaration many times.

80. My Commissioners learned during their visit that about 2,000 breach-loading fire-arms, with the necessary ammunition, had been landed for Cetywayo, at Delagoa Bay, which he had sent for and was expecting daily. It is said that a firm in Natal, acting in concert with Mr. John Dunn, in Zululand, has furnished or procured the furnishing of this supply of the munitions of war.

81. My only hope of delaying overt action is in the threat that Cetywayo made to get the "man" in Natal to write a letter for him to Her Majesty.

82. He is sending messengers to me to follow Messrs. Shepstone and Rudolph, and these messengers will probably reach this to-morrow. I shall propose to Cetywayo through them to await the reply to that letter, and allow things to remain as they are, until that reply is received, when negotiations can be opened afresh. I have very little hope, however, of succeeding in this, and my fear is that should he even assent, he will secretly encourage a system of interference with the farmers that must produce mischief.

83. I shall direct all the farmers yet remaining in the territory to which he has heretofore laid claim, to remove for the present.

84. This will be looked upon by the Zulus as a sign of weakness, which it undoubtedly is, and the danger is more, and still more aggressive action on their part. But I am unable at present to act otherwise. I shall remain at this place with my mounted infantry escort, now numbering 63 men, and I shall request Lieut.-Colonel Montgomery to move to Heidelburg half the infantry and the whole of the artillery now at Pretoria, so as to have them a little nearer than they are at present; but I shall defer to the last moment the actual use of force.

85. I send this through Her Majesty's High Commissioner, whose advice and instructions I shall await with anxiety.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed T. SHEPSTONE,
Administrator.

Enclosures A. 1.

STATEMENT of Manyosi, Nongamulana, and Sabulawa, sent by his Excellency the Administrator of the Transvaal to inquire into the truth of the report that the people occupying the Zulu border had been ordered to leave their farms by Cetywayo.

Utrecht, Transvaal, November 13, 1877.

WE left on Sunday afternoon the 11th September, and slept at L. Viljeon's farm. Next morning early we started with Viljeon's son and another young Dutchman, who were to go with us and point out the Zulu messengers who had warned Craig to leave his farm, as unless we had someone with us who knew them we would not find them.

On coming in sight of a Zulu kraal near Craig's we saw a number of people standing at the kraal; on seeing us some of them ran out to see who we were; on arriving at the kraal we only saw two young men (insiswa) who were armed with assegais and had their guns loaded leaning against the fence. We saw that the people of the kraal were in an excited state. We asked the young men where the indunas were who had slept there the night before. They replied, "What do you want with them?" We said we wanted to speak with them. A man (Kelila) then came up, and said, "If you only want to "speak why are there so many of you." We replied, "There are only we three indunas "and two men, and we are unarmed, and there are more Zulu indunas than one. We "have only come to talk." They then asked what the two Boers were doing with us. We replied that they had nothing to do with us. One of the Boers corroborated us and added, "that they had merely come to see." This appeared to satisfy them, and the men said that the Zulu indunas had slept there the night before, but had left early that morning. We asked where we should find them. The man said, "I will go and tell "them." We asked whether he would bring them back; he said "No." We said, "Well, "we will accompany you." He then went into a hut and got his gun and went out at the back of the kraal; we followed, and upon nearing him he stopped and told us "not "to follow so quickly," and then ran on. We again caught him up, and he again turned to us, and again requested us not to follow him so closely, but to give him time to get on; that the kraal at which we would find the indunas was just over the hill. We then stopped, dismounted, and took snuff. Upon getting round the hill we found that he had deceived us, as there was no kraal there, and he was not in sight, but we soon saw him across the valley running towards J. Potgieter's house. We followed quickly, and upon arriving at Potgieter's house we saw some Zulus sitting under a tree in front, and our guide talking to them. We rode past and off-saddled and went to the white men (2) at the house, and asked them what the Zulus wanted. The white men replied that the Zulus had told them to pack up and leave the farm that day before the sun set, that the land was Cetywayo's, and that he did not wish to hear of their, the white men, being there another day, that if they did not go, they the messengers, would not answer for the consequences.

We then went to the Zulus who were sitting in the shade of a tree. There were eight men, including the man who had run on before us. All were armed; four had guns which were loaded and capped, the others had assegais. We were unarmed, having nothing but our riding whips. The Zulus did not move on our approach, and Manyosi said, "What! are we to sit in the sun and you in the shade? Move out of that at once, "and make way for us, that we may sit in the shade." They moved instantly into the sun, and we sat down in their places in the shade and took snuff. They then saluted us, and we acknowledged it. We asked who was the chief man among them, and they replied that Nomayepu was; and that there were four other indunas, telling us their names, but we only now remember the name of Gobinanku, the second in rank. The others were their followers. We asked them where they came from, and what they had come about. They replied that they were sent by the Chief to order all the white people to pack up and leave this land as it was not theirs; they were all to leave the day they received the notice before the sun set. We said, "That is not all you said yesterday at "Craig's; go on and tell us everything." They said "it was all." We then called upon one of the young Dutchmen who had been present at Craig's to repeat what they had said. He addressed them, saying, "You went to Craig's yesterday and ordered him to "pack up at once and leave before the sun set, if he did not do so, you said you would "not be answerable for the consequences." Craig said, "Why do you come to me? I

" am nobody, why not go to Ishela (Mr. Rudolph) and Somtsen at Utretcht, they are " the persons to order me to go," and you said to Craig, " What! are we to be sent by " you; who are you to send us?" Craig replied, " No, I do not order you to go, but I " say your proper course is to go to the Chief." You said, " Who was Somtsen that you " should be referred to him?" that you did not know him.

The Zulu indunas denied any reference to Somtsen; that Craig's charging him with speaking so disrespectfully of the Chief was only another instance of his spite against them, *i.e.*, the Zulu people, that it was quite untrue, and they added that " he was " always in the habit of bringing false charges against them; that he was their " enemy."

The Dutchman said, " How can you deny it?" The party that went to warn Coot off yesterday said the same. They replied that they could not be responsible for what another party had said; that they had not done so.

We then asked them if they really meant to deny it, what evidence they had to support them? That the white men were borne out by the fact that such an order as that, viz., that they should quit that day before the sun set, had been given, which you admitted was the case. They replied, " Yes," that they had given that order, that they had been sent by their Chief to do it.

We said, " On what grounds does he do this? Do you really mean to say that you " were sent by the Chief Cetywayo? Do you, men of Zulu nation, ever give him advice? " Do you see what steps and actions like these will lead to? Do you forget that you " have repeatedly appealed to us to interfere between you and the Boers, and arrange " this very question of the land dispute? And now we are here, having ourselves taken " over the Boers, endeavouring to settle the question amicably; you, instead of waiting " for Cetywayo and his father Somtsen to settle the question, go without notice to " Somtsen and without his knowledge, and order his wives (*i.e.* the Boer farmers on the " border) to leave their farms at a moment's notice, as you were now doing. Was such " a thing as one man interfering with another's wives without his knowledge ever heard " of? Suppose one of these wives had struck a blow, where, under these circumstances, " could or would you have reported it?" We had thought that the settlement of the boundary would have been left for the decision of the two Chiefs, and that should it have been necessary, afterwards, each Chief would have moved his own people. We said, " Nomayepu, we see that you come as an enemy, and that you are armed, while we " have nothing but our whips. You Zulus are always calling Somtsen your Chief's " father, and yet while they are in friendly consultation about the land, here you are " acting as his enemies."

Gobinduku replied that they did not know that there were negotiations still pending; they understood that Cetywayo's final words regarding this question had been sent up by Sabulawa. We asked what those words were? Gobinduku replied, " Why, that the " Income (Blood River) was fixed as the boundary." We replied that that was news to us. Nomayepu then reproved Gobinduku for having said what he had. He replied, " Why do you reprove me? Was not that the message that Umbemba was also sent " up with to the Incuba, Utrecht?"

Sabulawa then said, " I went back with no reply, because the indunas returning from " the 'Income' meeting, whom we met at Umgandi's kraal, on the Inhlazatye, refused " to send Sidindi and Unkomo-ye-swepu with Cetywayo's words as he had ordered, " Umnyamana saying that what Somtsen had said at the meeting was true, viz., that he " knew his son's mind, and that he would not agree with what had been said at the " meeting by us, as was proved by the message he now wished to send to Somtsen; but " he said we, the indunas, do not agree with his words; we are by them made to have " acted falsely at the meeting. Umnyamana would not let the messengers go with us, " so we returned with no reply, and are yet awaiting them." Sabulawa added, " I am " certain that these acts of yours are not done by Cetywayo's orders; he knows nothing " of them; it is Umnyamana who has ordered it." The Zulus denied it, saying that they had been sent by the Chief, and added that with them it was not like with the English, where if a man thought an order was not a judicious one he could dare to remonstrate with them, they could only obey without a question. They said that they acknowledged that we had overcome them by our arguments, that they were too weighty for them, that they were only messengers and could not answer us, but that they would take our words to the Chief who had sent them, that he must answer them. We said, " Yes, if you can- " not answer us it is right that you should take our words to your Chief; but you must

" be very careful, and repeat every word of what we said." And we directed them to start at once.

They then asked us for snuff, and we, in order to show there was no ill-feeling, gave them some. Nongamulana, pointing to their guns, said, " What are you doing with " these things? Do you think that we, who are messengers, would have been deterred " by them from executing our message, even though unarmed as we are?" They replied that " the persons of messengers were always respected—when was a messenger ever " killed? That they ever felt that they were quite safe." " You," Manyosi said, " to " what Chief were you sent and armed in this way?" They asked Sabulawa who we were, and he replied, giving our names, and stated that we were Somtsen's indunas. They said, " Is that Manyosi? We have heard of, but never seen him." They expressed surprise at our having caught them up so soon.

Before starting we heard them give orders to one of their men to go at once and report to Umgandi, the Chief up there, that they had met us, and that in consequence of what we had said they would not go on warning the white men off, but go and report what we had said to the Chief, in order that he might decide.

We then went on to Charles Potters, on the Ubivana River, where we met Captain Clarke, who had been sent down by the Governor to make inquiries, so we returned.

Before us.

(Signed) H. C. SHEPSTONE.

Enclosure B. 2.

SIR, Utrecht, November 14, 1877.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 9th instant, in accordance with instructions received from your Excellency, I left Utrecht for the Zulu border to ascertain the state of the district.

About three miles from town I met three families with their flocks, herds, and household goods; they said that they were leaving their farms high in the Pongola Valley from fear of the Zulus, who were about to build a military kraal at Inhala Inboda. I went from the head waters of the Pongola River to the German Settlement of Luneburg, calling at the farmhouses and kraals near the road; the people had heard from various sources that Cetywayo had ordered a kraal to be built. Many of the white inhabitants were prepared for an immediate move and kept watch all night; the natives retired in the evening into caves or into the forest.

Luneberg is a thriving settlement of about 20 families, situated on the north of the Pongola about 38 miles from Utrecht, the chapel, which also serves as a school, is enclosed by a well built wall loopholed and with flank defence. The inhabitants think that if the kraal is built their position would become untenable, as the proposed site is but three miles distant although across the river. So far they have not in any way been molested by the Zulus. Going from thence I visited the farmers living nearest to the frontier; these have had from the Zulus two notices to quit, the first on the 19th of October, the second on the 1st of November, on the latter occasion they were peremptorily ordered to move at once. If they disregarded the order they were told that their bones should mingle with the ruins of their houses. The messengers said that they came from Umkuluzin a military kraal about 30 miles within the Zulu border, that they acted by order of the King, who wished the country cleared of white men before he built his new kraal, on receipt of this warning four of the nine farmers living in this neighbourhood left with all they could move in a hurry leaving their wheat ripe for the harvest and their maize crops well above ground.

Immediately on their departure the natives began to destroy the deserted houses, to remove the crops, and to cut down the trees.

I found that the first line of farms skirting the Old Hunting Road to the north-west from the Pongola River to Potter's Store on the Bevan were deserted, the wood-work and the ironwork is removed, the fruit trees and plantations cut down. This I was told had been done by the Zulus within the last 18 months.

The farmers who have left within the last month occupied the second or third lines of farms.

A number of Zulu messengers had come to Potter's Store on the 11th of November and ordered Charles Potter who was in charge to move before sunset, saying, it was the order of the King. They then went to other farms in the neighbourhood, at one of these they were met by messengers from your Excellency and returned to Zululand to report what passed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. CLARKE,
Captain R.A.

Enclosure C. 3.

SIR, Utrecht, November 19, 1877.

WE have the honour to report, for the information of your Excellency, that on the evening of the 16th instant we left Utrecht for the purpose of meeting the Zulu force reported to be on its way to build a military kraal on the banks of the Pongola. Owing to false reports in circulation we did not succeed in finding any trace of the force until the morning of the 18th instant, when we found the trail of a large body of men near the Dumbe mountains a range of hills to the south-east of the old Dutch hunting road, one of the places named to us as a rendezvous before we started, this track was plainly visible at a distance of 10 miles, following this we arrived at the kraal of Manzoyola, a Zulu Chief, this kraal is situated at the junction of the Intombi River with the Pongola, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mr. Meyer's Mission Station, the building furthest to the south of the settlement of Luneberg.

Here we found numerous bodies of Zulus armed with guns and assegais moving about under command of their officers. We were conducted to the cattle enclosure, we asked to see the leaders of the force. After some delay caused by collecting them, four head men were presented to us. Umseli the chief of the party, Deli, Uyumlani, Sckobobo. We explained to them that we had come from your Excellency to see and speak to them, that you had been informed by some farmers that notice had been given them to leave their farms, and also that there was an intention on the part of the Zulus to build a military kraal in a district under dispute, and that men were collecting for this purpose at the Dumbe mountains.

That your Excellency was unable to understand how the Zulu King could be guilty of such discourteous actions.

That you had sent us to ask them what the assemblage of such a force meant, by whose orders the people had come together, and what were their intentions?

They replied that they could not answer for the motives of their King, that they dare not speak on such a subject, that their intentions were purely pacific, that Cetywayo had ordered them to build a kraal to accommodate his native subjects who were living on farms occupied by Boers in the district, that the land belonged to the Zulu nation which had a right to do what it liked with its own, that their orders were not to molest the white inhabitants or to injure their property, but to go home after their work was done.

We answered that the land was not the Zulus', that a border line between their land and the Transvaal could only be fixed by the agreement of the Government; negotiations on this subject were now pending, that taking this circumstance into consideration, their action was aggressive, that such conduct was unprecedented in the history of a nation proud of its traditions.

They acknowledged the truth of this, but said their orders came from Cetywayo and they dare not disobey him, a kraal was a thing easily removed, they would put the poles in the ground and go home at once; they said, moreover, that if they disbanded the large force under them without doing anything discontented individuals relieved from the bonds of discipline would disperse over the country robbing and burning houses, and that they knew such conduct would most likely lead to war.

As they heard that Mr. Rudolph was to accompany the Secretary for Native Affairs to Cetywayo to inquire the object of his line of action, they said they would meet him on the road and accompany him to the King.

We warned them that they must clearly understand that the Transvaal Government would not tolerate the existence of a military kraal in that neighbourhood, they replied that they dare not disobey orders but would lose no time in leaving the district.

We then broke off the interview, in addition to the four men named as leaders, Manyoyola and about 300 were present, we saw only a small portion of the force, the main body was in the forest cutting poles and brushwood. The proposed site of the kraal is in the angle formed by the Pongola and Ityake rivers, within three miles and in sight of the German Settlement of Luneburg.

An armed force in this neighbourhood would hold the key to a very strong position, the forests and broken ground of the valleys of the Pongola and Ityake and their tributaries; the occupation by a hostile force of this position would be a standing threat to the towns of M. W. stroom and Utrecht and some of the richest districts in the Transvaal.

During our ride we found in all the Zulu kraals we met with only women and old men, all the able-bodied men had joined the force, the people we saw were pursuing their ordinary occupations, and none of the cattle appeared to have been moved.

The white inhabitants had deserted the two first lines of farms adjoining the old road, the others residing in the district, even within a short distance of the town of Utrecht, were preparing for immediate flight, in no case, however, did we hear of damage done to person or property by the Zulus.

We have, &c.

(Signed) M. Clarke,
Captain R.A.

To his Excellency the Administrator
of the Government, Transvaal.

G. M. Rudolph,
Landrost, Utrecht.

Enclosure D. 4.

(Translation.)

Negotiation entered into between the Delegated Commission of the South African Republic on the one part, and Cetywayo, King of the Zulu Nation, and his Captains on the other part; held on the 20th day of March 1861 at the Kraal of Sirayo:—

The Captains of the Zulu nation here present being asked whether the whole Zulu nation is satisfied with the choice of Cetywayo as their King; they answered, The whole Zulu nation, men, women, and children, all wish to have Cetywayo as their King, and no other:—

Cetywayo, and all Captains being asked how and what the condition of Umpanda was at the present moment, was answered, Panda is still there; and on the question whether Cetywayo is willing to take care of his father and family, and treat them kindly, the answer of Cetywayo was, that he is rejoiced and thankful to hear that it is our wish that he should treat his father and family kindly, and that he is willing to do so. The Captains also declared that they will pay due respect to Panda as old King, they say that the dissensions which had existed amongst the Zulu nation were only caused by Panda first declaring Cetywayo as his successor, and afterwards another; and that it was their wish to make an end of this uncertainty, and that therefore they wished now to make Cetywayo King with our consent.

Cetywayo promises that in future no commandos will be sent out by him to go and murder; and to prevent bloodshed, as much as possible.

The Captains promise immediately to send a report of any fugitives who may cross our boundary line, with the causes and reasons of their flight. Cetywayo and his Captains promise that no armed force will be sent over the boundaries of the Republic, or of any other state or country without our consent. Cetywayo and the Captains being asked whether they knew if Panda, perhaps, had ceded ground to the English Government, they declared that it is unknown to them.

It was further stipulated that a line should be defined as boundary between us and the Zulu land; and that Cetywayo cedes a piece of ground to us, the boundaries of which shall be defined hereafter by us and the Captains Gebula and Sirayo, who received full power from Cetywayo.

Cetywayo will be satisfied with a present to be fixed by the Commission, and desires no further payment for those grounds.

The Commission then resolved to give Cetywayo a present of 25 cows, one bull, besides a horse, saddle, and bridle.

On this the 29th March 1861 have we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of Cetywayo, King of the Zulu nation, handed over to the Plenipotentiaries of the South African Republic a piece of ground adjoining the district of Utrecht, so that the line between the land of the Zulu nation and the South African Republic be now defined as follows:—

"Where the great spruit of the Doornhock runs into Buffalo River, from thence to first great mountain (Kop) on the north side, beginning right over that mountain (kop) on Buffalo River, at the drift which is there now, and from there on that ridge (butt) in a straight line eastwards to Pongola River, over the sharp mountain (kop), through the pass (nek) on the south side of the mountain of Zungeni."

Thus pointed out and handed over by us the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of Cetywayo.

(Signed) N. Smutts.
W. H. Uys.
P. S. Uys.
C. J. V. Roojen.
A. T. Spies.
} Members of the Commission.

D. A. Sandbruik, as Secretary.

As witnesses.

(Signed) J. Combrinck.
T. J. G. Potgieter.

× This cross is the handmark of Gebula.
× This cross is the handmark of Sirayo.
× This cross is the handmark of Assegaai, as witnesses.

On the 3rd April 1861.

Confirmed and signed by Cetywayo and three of his captains.

× This cross is the handmark of Cetywayo.
× This cross is the handmark of Ohamee.
× This cross is the handmark of Uzewetu.
× This cross is the handmark of Seteku.

As witnesses.

(Signed P. W. Jordaan.
G. M. Smuts.
S. F. du Pliesies.

A true copy.

Government Secretary.

True translation.

(Signed) J. C. Preller, sworn translator.

Translation.

Nodwengu, August 5, 1861.

This is to certify that the undersigned Panda, King of the Zulu nation, gives a piece of ground to the district of Utrecht, through J. F. Van Staden, on request of Marthimus Pretorius, the same piece of ground that was asked from Cetywayo, as Cetywayo had no power to give it, but now I give the ground as far as the captains will point it out and request C. J. Van Roojen, Commandant J. C. Klopper, A. F. Spies, to act in my case to inform the High Authority of the South African Republic of it, and request the Government of Utrecht to assist me against the rebels who make war against me in my country, and seek to extirpate my kingdom, and commit murder every day.

I hope and trust that you will come and release me and my children from the descendants of Dingan and his followers.

(Signed) PANDA, his × mark.

Witnesses.

(Signed) J. F. VAN STADEN.
T. J. G. POTGIETER.
C. J. VAN STADEN.

A true copy.
(Signed) B. C. E. PROES, Government Secretary.

True translation.
(Signed) J. C. PRELLER, sworn translator.

Enclosure E. 5.

Landrost Office, Utrecht, Transvaal,
November 21, 1877.

APPEARED before me Gerhardus M. Rudolph, Landrost, of Utrecht, Coenraad F. Meyer, who being duly sworn states:—

I came to this district in 1861 after the cession of land by the Zulus to the South African Republic down to what is commonly called Gebula's line.

In 1862 I became Field Cornet of Ward No. 3, and in 1864 I went with the President, Mr. Pretorius, who was accompanied by Mr. Paul Kruger and a number of other white people, to have the line defined and erect beacons along it. On Mr. Pretorius arriving here he sent Commandant P. W. Jordaan with Jacobus and Cornelius van Staden to request Panda to send up a commission to meet him for the purpose of erecting beacons along the line of the land ceded in 1861.

Mr. Pretorius with about 50 white men including myself went to Lafries Koppie on the White Umvolosi River. There we waited, I think, two days when Mr. Jordaan and the two Van Stadens returned, accompanied by Gebula and Gunjini, and they said that Panda had sent those two men with them to be present as his representatives at the erection of the beacons. Gebula and Gunjini also told Mr. Pretorius that Panda had sent them to erect the beacons on the line.

I heard them.

I understand and can speak the Zulu language thoroughly. Gebula also himself told me so several times.

The waggons of the expedition then moved lower down nearer the line.

Messrs. Pretorius, Kruger, myself, and a number of others went with Gebula and Gunjini to commence erecting the beacons at the Buffalo River.

On our way the indunas pointed out to us and to the natives along the line where the beacons were to be, at the same time giving orders to those Zulus inside the line that they must move into Zululand. The first beacon was erected on a rantje, being the north-west extremity of the Nquta Range near the sources of a sandspruit which runs past Sirayo's kraal into the Buffalo River, at the junction with which the indunas said the line must commence.

Dirk R. Van Rooyen, since dead, undertook to erect this beacon, he living close to the place.

When we decided upon the place for the first beacon to be made by us (which is the second beacon on the line), Pretorius said to the indunas, you must yourselves place the first stones of the beacon in order that there may be no dispute about it hereafter, and they did so; we then built it up to about four feet high.

We went along the line erecting beacons at different intervals on conspicuous points of it, and where we did not erect beacons known hills were pointed out, the tops of which were to be acceped as beacons. Every beacon that was erected was commenced by the indunas at Mr. Pretorius' request.

The line crossed the sand spruit Gengeni and the white Umvolosi near to Cetywayo's kraal and went thence direct to Zungenis nek.

The top of a conical hill close to Cetywayo's kraal on the left bank of the Umvolosi River was fixed as a beacon.

We slept at this kraal the second night. On getting near this kraal it commenced to rain and we galloped to get to the kraal as soon as possible, the indunas were also riding. Here Andries Spies horse fell with him and nearly killed him.

Next morning I was obliged to leave and got my brother to act for me.

Pretorius and the indunas left at the same time to place the beacon in Zungenis nek and further on to the Pongola River.

I did not see those beacons erected, but shortly afterwards on visiting the neighbourhood, I saw the beacon in Zungenis nek, and two or three others towards the Pongola.

My brother who saw the other beacons erected told me that all were commenced by the indunas.

As we were coming along the line erecting the beacons, the indunas gave or sent notice to all the Zulus inside it that they must move at once by order of the King, but before I left Mr. Pretorius told the indunas that it was not necessary to be in such a hurry, that the people could wait until their crops were gathered.

There was no threat or force or compulsion of any kind used towards the indunas to induce them either to point out the line or to erect the beacons.

Everything went off in a very kindly and friendly spirit.

The natives along the line were friendly and hospitable.

(Signed) C. S. MEYER.

Sworn before me at Utrecht on the 22nd day of November 1877.

(Signed) G. M. RUDOLPH,
Landdrost.

Landdrost's Office, Utrecht, November 21, 1877.

APPEARED before me, Gerhardus M. Rudolph, Landdrost, Utrecht, Cornelius T. Van Staden who being duly sworn, stated:—

"I arrived in this district in the year 1861, after the Gebula cession was made. I can speak the Zulu language.

"In 1864 I, with Commandant P. W. Jordaan, and my father, Mr. Jacobus F. Van Staden, were sent by President Pretorius and the Uitvverende Raad to the Zulu King Panda to tell him that they and a number of other white men had arrived to mark out and erect beacons along the lower line of the land ceded to the South African Republic in 1861, the boundaries of which were then pointed out by Gebulo and Sirayo, and to request him to send up a commission to represent him at the settlement of the line and the erection of the beacons.

"We were instructed to request the presence of Cetywayo at the meeting, but he sent to say that he was sick, and sent Gunjine to represent him.

"Panda gave us Gebula, saying that he would be his representative. He also told Gebula Gunjine Stuurman, our interpreter, and me, that he commissioned us to order all the Zulus living on the South African Republic side of the line, to move at once into Zululand.

"We then left with Gebula and Gunjine, and met the President near Lafries Hill on the White Umvolosa River.

"From thence we went to the Buffalo River along the line to commence erecting the beacons.

"I accompanied them the whole way, and saw all the beacons erected. At the request of Mr. Pretorius, in order, he said, to prevent disputes as to the line, and the erection of the beacons, the Zulu representatives, Gebula and Gunjine, carried and placed the first stones themselves.

"I have heard read Mr. Coenraad Meyer's affidavit, dated to-day, and can and do hereby corroborate every word of it.

"I believe that the cause of the delay in the erection of the beacons was the civil war which broke out amongst us soon after the cession, and the consequent demoralisation caused thereby.

"When the President told the indunas that there was not any necessity for the Zulus inside the line to move before they had got in their crops, we, as representing the Uitvverende Raad, and having fully power from it thought it wrong, and Peter Uys and

I remonstrated, saying it was not right to set aside Panda's order, and the indunas also said that it was Panda's order, and if they were allowed to stay now they would not be able to get them to move without a great deal of trouble."

(Signed) C. J. VANSTADEN.
G. M. RUDOLPH, Landdrost.

Sworn before me this 22nd day of November 1877.

Landdrost Office, Utrecht, November 24, 1877.

APPEARED before me, Gerhardus M. Rudolph, Landdrost of Utrecht, Pieter W. Jordaan, who being duly sworn, states:—

I settled in this district in the year 1853. I recollect the cession of land by the Zulus to the Transvaal Republic in 1861. A Commission of the Transvaal, consisting of Messrs. N. Smuts, Landdrost, Andries Spies, P. L. Uys, and Wessel Hendriss Uys, met Cetywayo, at or near the kraal of Sirayo near the Buffalo River, in the year 1861, and there made an agreement with Cetywayo and some of the leading men of the Zulu nation, that all the land between the old boundary line of Zululand and the South African Republic, up to a line to run from the Buffalo near Sirayo's kraal over Zungini's Nek to the Pongolo, should revert to the South African Republic. The document of cession of this land was signed by Cetywayo and other Zulu Chiefs in my presence, and in the presence of several other whites, without compulsion or threats from the side of the white people. In this document the line was described but no beacons erected till 1864.

In 1864 President Pretorius, Paul Kruger and Joseph Fouric, being the Uitvverendi Raad, came to Utrecht and sent me, Jacobus Van Stadin, Cornelius Van Stadin, and Stwerman to Panda, to request him to send a commission to point out the line and to erect the beacons of the land ceded to the South African Republic in 1861.

Panda sent with us Gebula and Gunjini as requested.

We met the Uitvverendi Raad, near Blood River, on the south-east side of Blood River, on the farm of J. Combrink. The Uitvverendi Raad with a number of white people, the Zulu deputation, and myself went to the Buffalo River to commence erecting the beacons from that side. The beacons were then erected along the line to the Pongolo, in my presence. I left the party near Zungini's Nek. On the request of President Pretorius, the Zulu indunas placed the first stones of each beacon, and we then built it up. This was done in order to have no dispute afterwards. The Uitvverendi Raad left the line at Zungini's Nek after having appointed Messrs. Jawbus Van Staden, Cornelius Van Staden, and another man to proceed with the indunas to erect the beacons to Pongola River. Panda had given orders to his deputation to order the Zulus to remove over the line into Zululand, Gebula and Gunjini gave the order to the Zulu people falling on the side of the South African Republic, but Mr. Pretorius said that those people could remain on the land till their crops had been gathered, and they remained. At this time (1864) I was commandant of the district of Utrecht. When Cetywayo signed the deed of cession of land in 1861, I was field-cornet.

(Signed) P. W. JORDAAN.

Sworn before me,
(Signed) G. M. RUDOLPH,
Landdrost.

Enclosure F. 6.

TRANSLATION.

COPY of Instructions given by the Executive Council of the South African Republic, in its session at the Landdrost's Office in Utrecht, from the 5th to the 20th June 1860.

INSTRUCTIONS for the Commission appointed for regulating matters between the Government of the South African Republic and the Kafir nation of Zululand under King Panda.

Article No. 1.—This Commission nominated and appointed by the highest authority of the South African Republic (see Articles 11, 35, 42, of the resolutions of the

Executive Council, dated June 1860, at Utrecht), consisting of Messrs. "Nikolas Smuts," as Landdrost of Utrecht, "A. T. Spies," nominated as a member of Executive Council, "W. H. Uys," "C. J. Van Roogen," and "P. L. Uys," have to act in matters between our Government and the Zulu nation according to and in compliance with instructions or orders, as follows:

Article No. 2.—This Commission shall, in all they do, that is, in talking, and in all further transactions, performances, or written agreements, in one word, in all they do, solely have, speak, act, and write in the name of the Government and people of the South African Republic, and they shall never make use of the name of any single person as head, or chief, in order thereby to establish any matter, or make any arrangement with the Zulu nation, as everything which has to be done and to be established is to be done on behalf and in the name of the whole state.

Article No. 3.—The members of this Commission are bound to act as much as possible in concert in taking resolutions on matters; and meetings about such matters shall always be held in the office here, as well as reports from native messengers, which shall always have to come to the Landdrost, and, if necessary, meetings of the "members" shall be called by him, or any of the members.

In the event of the Commission intending to go to Zululand, the Landdrost shall not be obliged to accompany it.

Article No. 4.—This Commission is obliged to take measures that the line of this district on the east side, between this State and Zululand, be arranged; and that the beacons be erected and distinctly defined along this line, according to the cession of the land by "Panda," signed on September 8th, 1854, and further, to endeavour to define that boundary line eastward to the Pongola River, and further up along that river in accordance with a previous arrangement made about it with Panda in 1854.

Article No. 5.—With reference to "King Panda" and his son "Cetywayo," the Commission is recommended and authorised, that whereas the Government of the South African Republic having learnt that "Panda" had previously appointed "Cetywayo" to be his successor, and that such appointment had, according to continually received reports, been sanctioned almost unanimously by the Zulu nation, and that whereas on account of this appointment circumstances afterwards happened whereby many murders and quarrels were caused in Zululand, and "Panda" irresolute, and that whereas "Cetywayo" himself, being desirous that an end be put thereto; he requested that the succession to the kingship may be regulated, and his appointment be sanctioned and confirmed by our Government, the same as formerly "Panda's" appointment was sanctioned and confirmed. And as it is our duty, as it formerly was with "Panda," to bring these matters to peace and good order, and to keep it so, this Commission will have to assure "King Panda" of the continued good feelings of our State towards his person and people; and to convince him in the best manner that it would be best to secure the succession of his son "Cetywayo" during his lifetime, and to appoint him his successor and King of the Zulu nation, so that he, in his old age, and inability to keep order, may pass the end of his life in rest under the protection of his son "Cetywayo." Nothing must be left undone to arrange this matter with "Panda," and to represent to "Panda" (if necessary) that we cannot be excluded from the privilege of appointing, together with him, his successor, as he himself received his kingdom and power from us.

Article No. 6.—They shall also have to say to "Cetywayo," in presence or not of "Panda," that his appointment of King, the same as his father "Panda's," had only been made on the understanding that he would be an enemy to all useless bloodshed; and that he was to promise obedience to our Government: and if "Panda" sanctioned his appointment in his stead as King, they shall have to arrange as soon as possible that appointment, putting "Cetywayo" under the obligation of taking all care of his father as "old King," and to see that no grievance or contempt shall be done him; in order that the name and early promises made to "Panda" by the "emigrants" may not be disregarded by him and his people. At the same time, "Cetywayo" is to be told and charged not to make war beyond the boundary of Zululand without the consent or order of the Government of the South African Republic; also that he is not to molest the British Government in Natal or the Orange Free State, in order that the peace and unanimity existing betwixt us and those States may not be disturbed by the evil fullness of him or his people; and his appointment shall always be made in the name of the people and Government of the South African Republic, in the same manner as was done before in appointing his father "Panda."

Article No. 7.—If it should happen unexpectedly that "Panda" be opposed to this appointment, the Commission shall note the causes thereof, and consult with the highest

captains of "Panda" about it, inquire into the opinions of the people, and act according to that opinion.

Article No. 8.—This Commission has to act in every respect most cautiously, in order that, by their interference and speech in treating with "Panda" or "Cetywayo," no war or disturbances against us or the British Government, or of the Zulus amongst themselves may take place. When "Cetywayo" is nominated or appointed as successor of "Panda," they will not meddle with the internal affairs or State affairs of Zululand as far as they can possibly avoid, making no question, so that peace and order may be maintained there.

Article No. 9.—If it should appear that "Panda" and "Cetywayo," in accordance with reports continually coming in, still intend to cede a part of their land to our State, the Commission will also be obliged, finding it to be true, to inquire what land it is, and upon what conditions they are willing to cede such land to our State and the public, then to act in accordance as they find this matter, and also to report thereon to the Executive Council.

Article No. 10.—Further, the Commission has to take care, as much as possible, that all their business transactions remain secret, and they shall have also to take care that the interpreters to be employed in these matters may not communicate to others the business transactions, in order that these matters by being made public do not injure the general well-being of our State; and if any particular news or occurrence happen in Zululand, or anything is done or carried out by them, they shall further continually send notice thereof to the Executive Council by each ordinary mail, or, if considered necessary, by an extra post.

Article No. 11.—If time permits, the Commission will have, before determining and finally settling any important matter with the Zulu nation, without delay to give notice of such matter, giving their opinion for or against such matter, to enable the Executive Council thereby to send their opinion and resolution thereon also before such matter is decided upon, executed, or fixed. In matters that do not allow of such delay the Government is obliged to leave it to the judgment and decision of the Commission to take the interests of the public to heart.

Article No. 12.—As regards the payment and costs of the Commission for travelling, &c., it is resolved that it shall be paid out of the "Public Chest." All presents, however, which this Commision may receive from "Panda," "Cetywayo," or others, on behalf of this State shall be turned into money in the most advantageous manner, and the proceeds thereof, in the first instance, be used to defray the above expenses. Should it happen, however, that this State shall come into possession of a portion of land by their efforts (according to Articles 7 to 9 of these instructions), each member of this Commission, or their later substitutes, shall be entitled to a right of a farm in said lands as an extraordinary reward for their zeal and faithfulness with which they shall have served the State and the people of the Republic, in order that they, receiving later such out of the ceded lands, may experience that our State not only knows how to value, but also will and shall recompense extraordinary labours and loyalty in a matter like this. And it is most earnestly recommended to all the Commissioners jointly, and to each separately, to conduct themselves faithfully and according to these instructions in all matters, and that they show themselves worthy of the confidence put in them in this important case. That they ought constantly to consider the future and prosperity of our State and of their own people, who by bad management would become involved in sad and troublesome difficulties if matters such as these were wrongfully dealt with, as well with the "Kaffirs" as with our European neighbouring States; and they are again recommended, for the prevention thereof, to act with extreme caution.

This done and delivered in accordance with the above-mentioned resolutions of the Executive Council of the South Africa Republic.

(Signed) J. H. Grobler, Acting President.
G. J. Coetze.
H. T. Buhrmann, Member and Acting Secretary.

Utrecht, June 20, 1860.

I certify the above to be a true translation.

(Signed) G. M. Rudolph, Landdrost.

Enclosure G. 7.

SIR, Utrecht, December 4, 1877.

IN accordauce with your Excellency's instructions we started on the 24th ult. for the Zulu King's chief kraal "Ulundi," situated in the Emahlabatini, in the valley of the White Umfolozi River, about 100 miles from this.

The native induna, Manyosi, and several other natives went with us, and we were also accompanied by Mr. H. W. Taylor, the gentleman who was commissioned by your Excellency when in Zululand in 1873 to go with "Manxele" and "Manyosi," our indunas, and some Zulu indunas, to inspect the territory then said to be in dispute between the South African Republic and the Zulus.

On arriving within 20 miles of the "Ulundi," we sent on to report where we were and that we would stop that night at the Rev. Mr. Gunderson's Mission Station, which is about four miles from the King's kraal, and requested him to meet us next morning at his kraal.

Our messengers, accompanied by one from Cetywayo, met us that evening at Mr. Gunderson's, the King said that we ought to have gone on direct to him, that it was home there for us, but that as we were at the missionary's we had better come on early in the morning when he would be ready to meet us, to which we agreed.

Next morning, early, a man was sent to take us down and we got there at 10 a.m. We found Cetywayo with his chief indunas sitting in the usual place in the kraal where business is transacted awaiting us. After greetings we sat down and were called upon to state our message from your Excellency.

Manyosi commenced by stating that he had but one word from your "Father Somtsen," and that was to say, that he could not consent again to meet Umnyamana and the indunas as he had done at the Income (Blood River), that the bearing and language of the ndunas there to him were such that he could expect no good result from again meeting them, that while in consultation there regarding the boundary, "Umnyamana" had sent and taken action regarding the land which he considered to be in dispute, then again "Umnyamana" said to him, "Do you still remember that we have ruled for ourselves, do you recognise us as still independent," which were words which he could not understand the object of using. He says that he thought that he had done away with the stumbling block which you had been complaining of to the English Government by taking over the country. Does "Umnyamana" mean by these words that he thinks that the English Government wishes to levy taxes in the Zulu country. He supposed that you would be glad of the Transvaal having been taken over by the English Government and that you would meet him in good faith and arrange the boundary line between you amicably. He says that he saw by the conduct and bearing of the indunas that the Zulu nation was not the same towards him as it used to be. That he finds that while the meeting at the Blood River was being held "Umnyamana" had sent to warn the farmers off lands they had occupied for many years. After this he sent in three other parties of messengers on the same errand, that on the last party of messengers being reported he ordered me to go and inquire into it, and I did and found them, they were "Nomayepu" and some others, upon my representing to them the impropriety and aggressive nature of their conduct, they admitted it and said that they were only messengers and could not answer me. The Administrator did not think so much of these four aggressive acts, as he supposed that they might have been done by the indunas themselves without the knowledge of the "King," but he says, there is a fifth one whose aggressive character is undoubted, that was the arrival of a "large armed "force to build a military kraal" right in our country and on land never before occupied or claimed by the Zulus, which could not have been done without the King's consent or knowledge.

That it was said that this was not a new intention that "Tshingwayo" (one of the chief indunas) had been sent to do it some years ago, but that he had been driven off then by the Boers, and the matter had not been persisted in.

The Administrator says why should this particular moment be chosen for it, when he and Cetywayo are in consultation, and after the lapse of so many years.

That the Administrator had determined upon sending his own son and Mr. Rudolph, to see you upon the boundary question, when this armed force was reported and he then thought that it would be of no use to send them down.

But the indunas sent by you arrived, and he told them all I have said, and that he could not now send them down. They begged him not to persist in refusing to send

them down, let him send his own flesh down, and he will then be satisfied and know the feelings and spirit of Cetywayo.

That he must not be hard and accept at once these acts as representing "Cetywayo's" real feelings, that a father is long-suffering to his children, and he must be so in this case, and he then said to them, that upon their request, he would send them "and here "they are."

Mr. Shepstone then said that "Manyosi" had stated the reasons for sending Mr. Rudolph and himself down, that we have been sent by the Administrator of the Government of the Transvaal, who says "that he had sent word by Sintwango" from Pretoria to tell the Zulu King that he would be at "Utrecht," and that he would expect to meet representatives from him there, to get word from him "how far the land which he had "taken over for the English Government extended in this direction."

That in accordance with this he met the Zulu indunas at the "Income" (Blood River), but could get no word from them, and that what he proposed they would not even listen to, and that he was there treated as stated by Manyosi.

With regard to the letter sent by the King to the Natal Government representing his complaints against the Boers, he had, according to promise, taken it to England with him, but that Mr. Burgers, President of the South African Republic, had not come as was expected, and that in consequence the matter could not be entered into, there being no representatives of his side, that after two months, instead of his coming, news came of the war with "Sikukuni" and Sir T. Shepstone was sent out to inquire into it.

That, on arrival, he at once went to "Pretoria," and that he there decided upon taking over the country for the "Queen" of England, which he thought would have proved welcome news to the Zulus, as he thereby did away with their cause of complaint, and in fact complied with their request to him when in 1873 they asked him to take over on behalf of the British Government and occupy the "disputed territory."

He says that what he proposed at the "Income" (Blood River) meeting he now no longer adheres to, that he has now learnt the "Boer side" of the question, as well as that of the Zulus, which he knew before, and he finds that the boundary which cannot be disputed is that agreed upon by the present king "Cetywayo" with the "Boers" when "Umtonga" and "Mngihlana" his brothers, and an induna "Undengezi" were given up to him, the now Zulu King, in 1861. That the cession was afterwards ratified by "Panda." That in 1864 Mr. Martinus Pretorius, the then President, accompanied by Messrs. Paul Kruger and Joseph Fourie, constituting the Executive Council of the South African Republic, came to Utrecht, and sent "Commandant Jordaan," the two "Van Stadens," and "Staurman," a native, as interpreter to "Panda," stating that he had now come to erect the beacons along the boundary line of the land ceded in 1861, and that he wished both Panda and Cetywayo to send up indunas to represent them at the erecting of the beacons, that "Gebula" was sent by "Panda," and "Gunjini" by Cetywayo, that they went up with "Pretorius'" messengers, and met him, and his Council, and the other white men, and proceeded on the line to the Buffalo River, at Rorkes Drift, the Zulu indunas, on their way giving notice to all above the line to move at once, then the erection of the beacons was commenced at once.

Pretorius, in order to prevent disputes, told the two Zulu representatives that they ought to place the first stone, which they did, at this and every other beacon.

They went straight across the Pongola River, through Zungeni's Nek, erecting beacons all the way.

About this line there can under these circumstances be no dispute, and there is my witness Gebula, but "the Administrator" of the Government says that he knows it will appear hard to you to give up this line now, that for the present he will not press this, but will be satisfied with the "old line" acknowledged and known both by "Panda" and the Zulu people, which line is from the junction of the Income (Blood River) with the Umzinyate (Buffalo River), up the former to the waggon drift of the "Old Hunting Road" to the Amaswazi country, and along the said road across the Nbwane River, to where it crosses the Pongola River, and this boundary line was admitted by the present King to my father in 1873, when he said, "I would claim to the 'Drakensberg,' but I "am afraid, as my 'Father Panda' gave them (the Boers) the land to the road." This road the "Administrator" says he did not then know, but that he now understands where it is.

At that time the "Administrator" sent up, at your request, this white gentleman Mr. Taylor accompanied by "Manxele" and "Manyosi," two native indunas of his, with Usijulwana, "Umbokonjorana," and "Umbangambi" from you, to see the land

which you stated the Boers had wrongfully claimed from you, the Administrator says he wishes for a direct answer, yes or no, if the latter he expects you to propose something that he can consent to. This is the message we have brought to you.

In reply "Cetywayo" said that with regard to the question of boundary he had nothing to say, that the "Zulu people" were present, pointing to the indunas, and that this was a question for them to settle and that they would answer.

"Umnyamana" then gave an account of the meeting at the Income (Blood River), and said that he knew of no offence that he had given at the meeting, that he had intended none, that he had made the remark alluded to by "Manyosi," but that he had not meant it otherwise than as applying for the presence of the Boers to be questioned by them regarding the alleged cession of land, which the "Administrator" would not allow, as he said that it would give rise to angry disputes which was not what he wanted, he wished bygones to be bygones, and to commence afresh then on a new boundary agreed upon between us, irrespective of all old treaties.

Yet, it appears now that the Boers must have been sent by him to occupy and steal this land, since he has now taken them and upholds their claim, let him admit this at once, these "Boers" on coming first to ask for leave to occupy this land said that they came to be subjects of "Panda," and that when "Panda" went out to war that they would go also, and they were allowed to settle then.

"Cetywayo" said that he had denied this cession, and that when he heard that some cattle which he had asked for and had been given by the "Boers" were said to be the payment for the land he at once sent them back.

That when Pretorius came down he denied the cession to him, telling him that he had no power to act or give away land while his "Father Panda" was alive. Why does "Somtsen" in taking the "Boers" land give them ours too, we both belong to him, where does he propose to place us. Let him say if he has given me up, and I will find a man as high in rank as he is in "Pietermaritzburg" (Natal) who will take me up, and write letters to the "Queen."

This country of ours belongs to "Ishaka," does he not lie uncared for at "Dukuza" (Stanger, Natal), where the grass over his grave is burnt every year, that land is also ours, but I do not claim it out of regard for my "Father Somtsen." The indunas were correct, they spoke as I had instructed them. "The Ingcaka" was our land always, it was occupied by people subject to us, and is so still. All the land below the "Drakensberg," from the Umzimyate (Buffalo River) and to the Egua (Vaal River) is ours. Cetywayo then called upon us to state the real message we have been sent with that what we had said could not be it.

Mr. Rudulph replied that we had given our message, that we had nothing more to say, but he added that the proposal made by the Administrator was made by him in good faith and sincerity, and in the belief that it was the only line which could now be made to settle the question satisfactorily for both parties.

That it was necessary to have a line known like the Tugela River between you and Natal, where on that account there were no disputes.

He also intends to place an officer there who will receive all reports both from you and the white people.

"Gebula" stated that as he reported before he was forced by the Boers, that he had only been sent to see what they were doing, he called upon us to produce "Gunjini" whe was present with him there.

"Cetywayo" denied that he had ever said to the "Administrator" that the road was the boundary, and wanted to know who were present at the time.

That this was never a recognized boundary, that he had not asked for the land to be taken over by the British Government, but merely that they should place an officer up there who could see into matters.

Mr. Shepstone said, Nothing appears to be now admitted as true, everything is denied.

What did "Bemba" say when he was sent up by Panda in 1864 with "Makapela" to Utrecht to remonstrate about the Boers crossing the line. Did not he say that the only line that Panda knew or recognised was the waggon road?

Where and what did Mr. Taylor and Manyosi go up to see in 1873, when you asked for them to be sent up to see the country which you said the Boers were robbing you of?

Was not Mr. Taylor taken by "Umbangambi" along the lower line from the Pongola River, through "Zungeni Nek" to Rorkes Drift, on the Buffalo (Umzimyati) River, and did not he point out to him where the beacons had been erected, were not Manyosi and

Manxele taken along the upper line, "the waggon road," by the other two Zulu indunas which they said was the "old boundary," and were they not told that the country the Zulus wished the English to occupy was the strip between those two lines, so that they could intermarry with our natives without having to go so far.

This was all denied by the indunas, they said that Mr. Taylor had turned back on the road, and that what Manyosi said was not true. Manyosi asked for the people who accompanied him to be produced.

"Cetywayo" said that this line was closing him in right at his door, that this hard talk about the boundary had been brought about by his having listened to the advice of "Somtsen," who had told him not to fight with the "Boers," as right would come right in the end, and we did not fight; if it had not been for this we would have settled the question long ago.

Do you think I was or am afraid of the "Boers," or that they could fight with us, the land is ours, and I cannot give it up.

There was a great deal of talk which took place among the indunas about this time, denying all cessions, stating that the Boers had robbed them, and that we were doing so also. They called for our witnesses, and wanted to know why we had not brought the Boers themselves down to be questioned.

We suggested to "Cetywayo" that we thought it would be best that we should now adjourn and meet again in the morning to get their reply, as this would give them time to think over it. "Cetywayo" said that he wanted no time, that the matter could be settled at once, that day, and he called upon the indunas as representing the Zulu nation, to whom the land belonged, to reply.

After a little consultation "Umnyamana" said that it was for the King to settle.

"Cetywayo" then said, "I will only give as far as the junction of the Income (Blood "River) with the Umzinyate (Buffalo River) up the former to its source, from thence "to 'Magidelas Nek,' and along the dividing ridge, where the Unzimyate (Buffalo "River) and the Utaka (M.W. Stroom) rivers rise. These rivers I do not claim, "but all on this side (S.E.), namely, the sources of the Pongolo River and the "Umkondo or Assegai River to the Ntaba-nde, including the country formerly occupied "by 'Mauhlangampisi' and his people, and that formerly occupied by 'Umlambo' and "his people."

Upon our attempting to remonstrate with him he stopped us, saying, "that he had "made up his mind and would not alter it; that if anything more was said about it he "would close his ears and give no answer." That "Somtsen" must do as he liked, and he repeated that if he cast him off, there was a "man his equal in Pietermaritzburg," who would take him up and write to the Queen for him. He added that we were to tell the Administrator that he must at once move the people living on the lands he claimed, or some accident would happen, that the land was his, and that he intended to proceed with the building of the "military kraal" forthwith. He also said that he would not be the first to go to war.

On our rising to go "Cetewayo" asked us not to start very early, as he proposed to send up some messengers with us to give his words to your Excellency.

We replied that they could accompany our indunas, who would not travel as fast as we should. To this he consented, and we left.

The induna "Manyosi" has now arrived accompanied by the Zulu messengers, they are "Umgulugula," Cetywayo's brother, Faku, and Piti, a brother of Sirayo's.

The bearing of the King and his indunas towards us was respectful, but the tone and manner in which they spoke of the boundary which we proposed, and of your Excellency personally, were extremely independent and overbearing; indeed we may say that they were defiant, as "Cetywayo" ended by again saying that you could now do as you liked, if you did not adopt their views, and that he would get "the man," your equal, in Pietermaritzburg, to write to the Queen for him.

The road by which we went down is nearly perfectly straight from the "Blood River "waggon drift to the Ulunri kraal," and the general direction is S.S.E.

The road is a good one the whole way, with the exception of two places, the one at the Mhlazstye Mountain, about 70 miles from this, and the other about 12 miles further on, both of which places are rather steep and rocky. As a rule the road is on long flat ridges, and is the same as that travelled upon by Mr. Fynney last year.

Your Excellency will be surprised to hear that between the Income (Blood River) and Mr. Gunderson's Mission Station, about four miles from the King's residence, we saw very few kraals indeed, and no large herds of cattle.

The country is very sparsely inhabited as far as we could see.

We met different parties of men either going or returning from the King's residence; they were respectful towards us. Nearly every man had a gun of some sort, and one expressed surprise at our going down with only riding switches in our hands, but he added, It is the custom of you English. He then said that he wondered if the time would ever come when they (the Zulus) would walk about in their country with only sticks in their hands. Another ran alongside of our men, who were riding, admiring them, saying, "that the idea of our thinking that we could fight with such people, people who are the "owners and makers of the arms we put faith in, was absurd; that it was true that when "dancing before the King they did boast of what they could do, but it was only to "throw dust in his eyes."

We annex two or three copies of the songs (Isihlabeldo) used by the "regiments" at the military kraals; and before the King.

We believe, from what we saw and heard in the Zulu country, that the feelings of the great mass of the Zulu nation is, that in acting in the way they are, "Cetywayo" and "Umnyamana," for they are in accord, are for reasons of their own wishing for a quarrel with the English.

They say that they see it will come, that they do not wish it, but they dare not say anything against it.

They say that they cannot understand why they should quarrel with the English, who have never wronged or harmed the Zulus, and that the land they claim was given to the Boers.

One man also hinted that it was not at all improbable that "Cetywayo" would meet the same fate that "Tshaka" had, in which case he said that the indunas hoped all to become independent Chiefs, the same as those in Natal.

We beg to say in conclusion, that from information we obtained, it appears that owing to his position with the King, Mr. John Dunn has the monopoly of the trade in "guns and ammunition," and that the arrangement he has with "Cetywayo" is, that he should import the guns, &c., &c. to "Delagoa Bay," where "Cetywayo" has to send for them, and he is to be paid a certain fixed price; under this arrangement it was said that about four months ago 400 men were sent to Delagoa Bay to get a lot of "breech-loading rifles" and ammunition from thence, and we were informed that this number of men would carry about 2,000 rifles.

The return of these men was expected daily.

It was stated that Mr. J. Dunn was supported by a mercantile firm in Durban, Natal.

We annex a map showing—

1st. (A.) The boundary of 1861, the beacons of which were erected in 1864.

2nd. (B.) The waggon road boundary which your Excellency proposed, marked in blue.

3rd. (C.) Lastly, the boundary claimed by Cetywayo, which is marked in red.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. C. Shepstone,
Secretary for Native Affairs.
G. M. Rudolph,
Landdrost.

P.S.—Annexed is a memorandum by Mr. H. W. Taylor, of his inspection of the line in 1873.

(Signed) H. C. S.
G. M. R.

Songs used in some of the Zulu Regiments since July last.

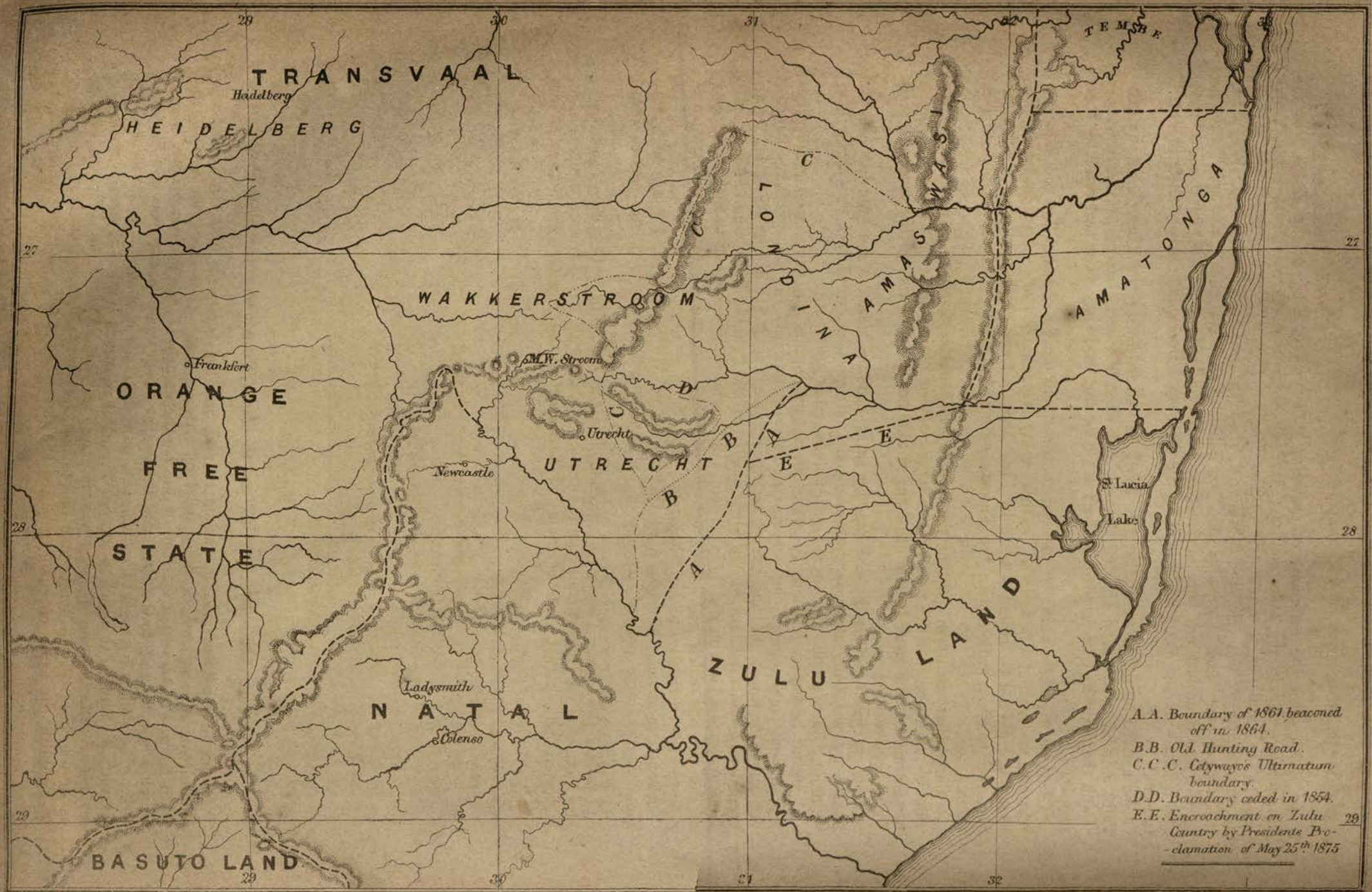
The "Abasemcityweni" say:

"There are the white people, let us fight with them, let us commence first, why should we look at them and wait for them to begin. Let us Zulus commence."

The "Mgobamakosi" said on seeing a white man passing:

"These white men are all one race, they are descended from the same stock, let us "fight them, this small race."

Four men belonging to "Ganza," on the return of "Umnyamana" from the meeting at the Income (Blood River) went to him in his hut and said: "We thank you, father, "greatly for what you have said; we agree with you, and say, let there be war. We "say War! War!! War!!! Let it come once for all. We will never move out of our "land for white men." 'Umnyamana' said, "What! get out this? We do not wish it; "will not I be there too." They went out laughing.


TRANSVAAL
Heidelberg
HEIDELBERG
WAKKERSTROOM
Frankfort
ORANGE
FREE
STATE
M.W. Stroom
Utrecht
Newcastle
UTRECHT
Ladysmith
NATAL
Colenso
BASUTO LAND
ZULU LAND
AMATONGA
TEMBE
St Lucia
Lake
A.A. Boundary of 1861 beaconed off in 1864.
B.B. Old Hunting Road.
C.C.C. Cetywayo's Ultimatum boundary.
D.D. Boundary ceded in 1854.
E.E. Encroachment on Zulu Country by Presidents Proclamation of May 25th 1875

Utrecht, December 2, 1877.

In 1873, after the ceremony of crowning "Cetywayo, King of the Zulus," at the Umlanlongrenga in the Zulu country, Mr. T. Shepstone (then Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal), as representative of the English (Natal) Government, sent me up, accompanied by "Manxele" and "Manyosi," two Natal native indunas, and "Isjalyane," "Umbogojwane," and "Umbangambie," on behalf of the Zulu nation, to inspect a certain territory on their northern boundary which, as they alleged, was being trespassed upon, and beacons erected along its length by the Transvaal Boers, contrary to their representations.

We arrived on the lower line on the third day after leaving the King's kraal, and the Zulu indunas commenced at once to point out what had been beacons, heaps of stones which they said had been piled up by the Boers, but had since been scattered by their people.

On their at once wishing to proceed to the upper line, I objected for the following reasons; firstly, that I had not as yet thoroughly inspected the lower line; and secondly, that I had been told before leaving by Mr. Shepstone not to do anything that might give rise to complications with the Transvaal Republic, as the land was in dispute with them.

I found that the upper part of the territory was comparatively thickly populated by Boers, and feared that the passing of a large body of natives from one prominent point to another, accompanied by a white man, would certainly give rise to that against which I had been warned.

I compromised matters by dividing the party, sending Manxele and Manyosi, accompanied by two Zulu indunas, Sijulwana and Umbogojwana, to inspect the upper line, retaining Umbangambie to proceed with me along the lower line.

I felt no hesitation in doing this, as before separating, and all being present and from a prominent point (one of the beacons on the Monhla Hill), the Zulu indunas pointed out to me the upper line, and having arranged to meet again at the Buffalo River, I proceeded with the inspection of the lower line from the Pongola River through Zungeni's Neck to Rorkes Drift on the Buffalo River, Umbangambie pointing out to me the remains of the beacons which had been erected along this line, and I returned to Natal and reported the particulars to Mr. Shepstone.

About two months afterwards, at the request of Mr. Shepstone, I returned to the same district, more properly equipped, to inspect and report more fully on the said territory.

I passed the Lower Tugela, and proceeded to the Zulu King "Cetywayo," and gave him notice of my instructions and intentions, and, with his consent, went thither, inspected and reported upon the same. *Vide* Report to the Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal.

(Signed) H. W. Taylor.

Enclosure 7.

[*See accompanying Sketch.*]

Enclosure 8.

A Remembrance between "Us" and the Zulu Tribes, how matters went on.

It was in the year 1859, in the latter end, and the beginning of 1860, when I was Landdrost, in that time, of the district of Utrecht, that "Cetywayo," the son of the Zulu King, Panda, sent a message to me by the mouth of Jacobus van Staden, senior, which I had to send to the President Pretorius. The same message was also made in writing, as well as by word of mouth, and immediately sent up by me to Pretoria to the Executive Council, at which place our President Martinus Wessels Pretorius was. To my best recollection the message was that the President Pretorius was to come to him, or he was positively to send some one to him, Cetywayo, to speak to him, Cetywayo, to establish the same covenant of peace the Boers had made with his father, Panda,

as his father Panda is old, and the people wish to have him for King after his father's death.

And he, Cetywayo, is willing to be King, and to take care of his father, Panda, with the country and people, according to agreement made between Panda and the Boers, and if the Boers make the same covenant with him, Cetywayo, and promise that he Cetywayo, shall thus be King after his father, Panda's, death, over the people and nation, and over the country under agreement like the one with his father Panda, then he, Cetywayo, will keep peace just like his father Panda had done, and if the Boers still required ground to live on, he will give it also as his father Panda had done.

In 1860, when our President Pretorius was in the Orange Free State, the Acting President, Hans Grobler, with two members of the Executive Council, H. T. Buhemann and Philip Koetser, came to Utrecht, and gave an instruction to Messrs. A. T. Spiers and N. Smuts, C. J. Van Roogen. W. H. Uys, and P. L. Uys, senior, and appointed them as a Commission to treat about the message and about all necessary matters with the Zulu country and Cetywayo.

In 1861 it happened that the Captain Dengezi with his people and with two sons of Panda's, Umtonga and Umqihlana, fled in amongst us, saying that they feared that Cetywayo would kill them, and a large Kafir commando, of which the Captain Umzilikaza was headman, had at the same time come to the other side of the Blood River and threatened us that they had orders from Cetywayo to pursue Dingezi, and if we did not give up Dingezi and the two sons of Panda and the cattle, and the people, they would come in amongst us and take them by force.

The public of our district then resolved that the Commission appointed over Zulu affairs should go and arrange this and other matters with him and bring about good peace and safety with him, which the members of the Commission did. Mr. C. J. Van Roogen then went ahead with the captains of Cetywayo, to fetch him, Cetywayo.

Cetywayo then came up with his force as far as "Inquazina," at the kraal of Tshingwayo or Sirayo, and we also came to him there to speak with him on all matters, and we asked him what he was doing, why he had made such a stir in the country, and why he wanted to kill Dungezi and his brothers, and why he had sent such a large commando to frighten our wives and children and make us unsafe, while Panda was still alive and had peace with us according to his agreement with us, and we asked him, Cetywayo, "What is your meaning in doing so—Panda is still alive?" Cetywayo then said, "I "want Dengezi and my brothers, and my father's people and cattle, and I wish to take "care of the country, and I wish to make a covenant of peace with the Boers in accord-"ance with my message which you had to send to Pretorius.

We then said, Cetywayo who gives you right to speak thus, Cetywayo then said, Ask that question to the Zulu nation, we then asked it through the mouth of the Zulu indunas, several thousands rose and said "We give to him, Cetywayo, the right to speak to you to take care of the country, and will have him as King after Panda's death. We then said, Well, we then can arrange these matters with you, and you, Cetywayo, can get Dingezi and your brothers, provided you do not kill them, and you can also get the people and the cattle, provided all these are safely returned to Panda, and that you, Cetywayo, shall enter into a peace with us under the same agreement as your father, Panda, did, and that you make a line with us and give us yet a portion of land in addition, that we may have more room to live, and that your people may come nearer unto you, whereby you would be enabled to manage them better, and to take care of them. Cetywayo then said, Yes, I will to-day close with the Boers the same peace as my father Panda, did, and will keep to it as long as I live, and I will send the Captains Gebula and Gunjini and Sirayo as my mouth with you, and then point out to them where you want the line and they can in my name see and judge if it is good. And Cetywayo said, I will be satisfied with the way in which my captains will approve of it, and now go in peace with the captains and make everything right, point out the ground, the line, give up my two brothers, give up Dingezi, the cattle, and people, and write it all down on paper, and let Gebula and Gunjini, put their hands to it (signed) and when they come with the cattle, people, Dengezi, and my brothers, I will also put my hand on the paper with the great captains, and will take care that my father, Panda, and his men shall also approve of that paper and put their hands thereon.

Cetywayo also said, I want a horse to ride on, with all that belongs to it; I want cows, to milk, besides a bull; and I want peace and friendship with the Boers as long as I live.

We then said, from our side, Cetywayo, you can be assured of peace, and we will

send you all you desire of us. And we did so, and it was all peace and quietness. And,

After we had finished with Cetywayo, Panda and his captains approved of all, with request that we should exclude the dwelling kraal of "Cetywayo." And,

In 1864, our President Pretorius, our General Krugér, and a member of the Executive Council were present at Utrecht. Messrs. W. Jordaan, J. Van Staden, senior, and C. Van Staden were sent to fetch captains from Panda and Cetywayo, to erect beacons on the requested and pointed out line. Panda and Cetywayo sent Gebula and Gunjini, and sent word to Pretorius that he sends the captains to make up the beacons, and is glad to see that we had in his lifetime concluded peace with his son, Cetywayo, and the captains always placed the first stones of the beacons, thereafter; so the matter was done in peace and friendship.

The two captains of Panda and Cetywayo, Gebula and Gunjini then said, our orders are we must bring the people over the line, and they say to us, President Pretorius give us time, our President then said, Yes, the people can go with all that belongs to you, but let them remain as the gardens are still on the velat (unreaped). The captains said Give them to us, now is the time, they will go now whilst the white people are here. Our President then said, Let them remain till their gardens are reaped, I will come back then, and they can then go away. And on account of circumstances that took place the President did not come in season, and thereby the mistake took place and I had told him so. And,

With respect to the holding of the "stick" when the line was pointed out it was the wish of "Sirayo" that we should turn the "stick" so that his dwelling where his father had lived should remain free, which was done and he was satisfied. And,

During the time that I was present at the dealings with the matter (being able to speak the Kafir language well), and having spoken myself as member of the Kafir Commission, and as resident in the land, I am fully convinced that the land about which differences now exist, was not asked for by us alone, but first offered by Cetywayo and treated about by both parties, that that land was necessary for us, and that line was also necessary for Cetywayo to have his people brought nearer to himself to rule them better, as the people who lived so far away from him often ran away and caused displeasure, as Dingezi and many others had done.

Nydgelegen, December 1, 1877. (Signed) P. L. Uys.

I certify the above to be a true translation.

(Signed) G. M. Rudolph,
Landdrost.

No. 2.

Administrator Sir T. SHEPSTONE, K.C.M.G., to the EARL OF CARNARVON.
(Received January 21, 1878.)

My Lord, Utrecht, Transvaal, December 4, 1877.

In the paragraphs 81, 82, and 83 of my Despatch of the 1st instant, I described the course I intended to take with Cetywayo, in the hope of delaying, as long as possible, actual collision between the Zulus and the people of this country.

2. I find, however, that aggressions upon the farmers continue to be daily made, and that these aggressions are spreading to localities where, heretofore, no question of right to territory has been supposed to exist.

3. In deference to my wish, that collision between the farmers and Zulus should be avoided, the former have submitted, without even a show of resistance, to losses of property which are ruinous to many of them.

4. Yesterday a deputation came to me, and described their condition as most distressing, and fast becoming hopeless. One said that a Zulu Chief had entered his house, and after examining the rooms it contained, expressed his intention of occupying it, pointed to the bedroom as the apartment he would assign to his principal wife, and to the large outside shed which the farmer kept his waggon in, as very suitable for his beer-drinking gatherings.

5. All except a few farmers south of the Pongolo, have abandoned their farms, and most of the homesteads thus abandoned have been destroyed, or greatly damaged.

6. It is impossible that this devastation can be allowed to extend any further without risking the most disastrous consequences, and as Cetywayo's demand for territory will justify, in the eyes of his people, the molestation of Transvaal farmers residing from 30 to 40 miles north of the Pongolo River, I have, after the most anxious consideration, determined to adopt a firmer tone than I had described in the paragraphs quoted in the first line of this Despatch.

7. And I have been supported in this decision by the expression of opinion made to me by the native indunas who accompanied the mission to Cetywayo, and who took part in the discussions with the Zulu King. They fully believe that nothing is to be gained by yielding, or appearing to yield, even temporarily, to the exorbitant demands made by Cetywayo, but that, on the contrary, peace is much more likely to be preserved by assuming a more decided tone.

8. They think that Cetywayo is under the impression that the Transvaal is incapable of offering effective resistance, and that it will be left to struggle alone by the neighbouring white communities of Natal and the Orange Free State.

9. When, therefore, I yesterday met the messengers from Cetywayo, who followed closely upon the return of the mission I had sent to him, and who had been sent by Cetywayo to confirm what he had said to my officers, and to hear my reply, I desired them to tell Cetywayo that I should not think it necessary to notice the remarks he had made regarding me personally, that I knew he would himself soon see that they were unworthy to be uttered by the ruler of Zululand, and regret having used them. That I had no objection whatever to his accepting the advice and guidance of any one who he thought more capable of advising him than I am, or to his getting that adviser to write to the "Queen," as he had said he would, that I also should write my views on the subject of our present discussion, but that, in the meantime, we must have a boundary line between us and the Zulus, and I could not for a moment think of accepting the one he had laid down. That after fully investigating the question here, with all the knowledge I had possessed of it in Natal, I had come to the conclusion conveyed to Cetywayo by the two officers I had sent down to him, and that further consideration had not induced me to change. I therefore wished Cetywayo to understand that nothing except Her Majesty's order would induce me to withdraw from what I had said, and that until I shall receive such order, I shall adhere to the proposal I had made to him, and adopt the "Old Hunting Road" as the temporary boundary between the Transvaal and the Zulus, although there is no doubt, after the investigations I have made, that the proper boundary is that which was beaconed off in 1864. That the "Old Hunting Road" has been for years the boundary of the occupation of the Boers, regarding which no question can exist, and that I should hold him resposible for the consequences of any attempts, should he make any, to exercise interference to the north of that road. That I could not permit the erection of a military kraal on the Pongolo, that I much regretted to have to speak to Cetywayo in this tone, that it could scarcely be supposed that to me, who crowned him, it would be pleasant to find myself opposed to him. That it was distasteful to me to talk of war, and that I regretted very much that both Cetywayo and Umnyamana had thought it right to refer to it so frequently. That my object in all my communications with the Zulus was to prevent war and to secure the quiet of the country, and if, after this communication, any further aggressions were committed to the north of the Old Hunting Road, the Zulu people must not blame me for the consequences.

10. I requested the messengers to lose no time in delivering this message, and bringing back to me Cetywayo's answer, and they promised to use their best endeavours to comply with my request.

11. They smiled at the idea of Cetywayo's going to war, and said "he was only talking "to his 'father' to gain his point."

12. The Zulu messengers are such adepts at concealing their thoughts, that it is difficult to judge of the sincerity of their remarks, but it is certainly possible that acts towards the subjects of a neighbouring Government which Cetywayo may consider compatible with the condition of peaceful relations may be such as would render actual warfare preferable.

13. Our condition at present almost reaches this point, and soon will reach it, unless this message induces Cetyway to adopt a more reasonable course of action.

14. I was very glad at the critical moment to be supported by the advice and opinion of Mr. Sargeaunt, C.M.G., whose opportune arrival enabled me to place the state of affairs before him prior to my adopting the course which I have just reported.

15. It is, no doubt, quite impossible to predict what a savage Chief like Cetywayo may do, but it seems to me improbable that he will have recourse to hostilities to enforce so exorbitant a claim as that which he declares to be his ultimatum.

16. I have omitted to mention as an additional, but very strong reason for at once attempting to check Cetywayo's warlike inclinations, the near approach of the grand annual war dance, which is in fact a review of all his forces at his principal residence, and at which so much excitement always prevails. This gathering usually takes place, and will take place this year about the last week in December, and the result cannot be looked forward to without anxiety.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) T. SHEPSTONE, Administrator.

Appendix IV.

CERTAIN TELEGRAMS RESPECTING REINFORCEMENTS.

TELEGRAPHIC.

From SIR BARTLE FRERE to SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH.
(Received Nov. 12, 1878.)

Pietermaritzburg, October 19, 1878.

I CONCUR with Sir T. Shepstone and Lord Chelmsford in thinking that Colonel Rowland's action is judicious and cannot be found fault with, but the Zulu difficulty is thereby rendered more menacing and confirms opinions as to the necessity for the additional troops applied for.

TELEGRAPHIC.

From SIR BARTLE FRERE to SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH.
(Received November 18, 1878.)

October 28, 1878.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 5th October. News from Zululand is as threatening as possible, short of actual hostilities. Both Sir H. Bulwer and Lord Chelmsford concur with me that it is not safe to delay sending the additional troops applied for.

TELEGRAPHIC.

From SIR BARTLE FRERE to SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH
(Received November 30, 1878.)

High Commissioner, Maritzburg, November 11, 1878.

YOUR telegram of 18th received. That Sir Henry Bulwer and Lord Chelmsford concur with me in considering the reinforcements we asked for to be indispensable, former telegrams and letters will have assured you, and that the crisis of the situation is gradually approaching. It will now be necessary to concentrate our forces, and when the time arrives when peace can no longer be maintained with honour, we must do our best to meet the dangers which arise from causes in existence long before the arrival of any of us in South Africa.

TELEGRAPHIC.

From SIR BARTLE FRERE to SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH.
(Received December 5.)

November 19, 1878.

WE have desired Cetywayo to summon his councillors and send proper person to receive award regarding disputed territory, and further communications regarding our future relations. Rain has fallen. Lord Chelmsford and Deputy Commissary General Strickland find great want of qualified officials in higher grades of Commissariat and Transport Departments to replace men knocked up by overwork.

Appendix V.

THREE DESPATCHES RELATIVE TO DISPUTED TERRITORY, &c.

No. 1.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR H. BULWER, K.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 30, 1878.)

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 24, 1878.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your information, copy of a Despatch I have addressed to the High Commissioner, together with copy of a message sent by me a short while since to the Zulu King, on the subject of the inquiry into the disputed boundary question which was being held at Rorke's drift, and copy of the report made to me, on his return from Zululand, by Mr. F. B. Fynney, who was good enough to undertake the charge of the message.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks Beach, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir B. FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 24, 1878.

THE members of the Commission appointed by me to inquire into the boundary question in dispute between the Transvaal and the Zulus have terminated their inquiry and returned to Pietermaritzburg; and they are now engaged, I understand, in the preparation of their report.

Shortly after they commenced their inquiry, which was opened at Rorke's Drift on the 12th or 13th March, an intimation was conveyed to me by Mr. Gallwey, the President of the Commission, that the Zulu delegates asserted that they had received no authority from the King to do anything else than point out the line of boundary claimed. They had no witnesses to call, they said, and they had received no authority to call witnesses or to ask questions.

That the Zulu King understood very well that the Commission of Inquiry which was appointed by me at his request was not appointed merely in order that the two parties to the dispute might point out or describe the boundary lines claimed respectively by them is quite certain; and that he intended to send witnesses on the Zulu side was shown by the fact that when he notified the names of the delegates whom he intended sending to represent the Zulu case before the Commission he named also some of the witnesses on the Zulu side. The declaration therefore of the Zulu delegates that they had no

authority to do more than point out the boundary line indicated either an unwillingness to do or say anything that might in their opinion compromise the Zulu case, or, to take the most favourable view of it, an inadequate apprehension of the real object and purpose of the inquiry. It was thought then desirable that some communication on the subject should be made, pointing out to the Zulu King the exact position of the case, and as on many grounds it appeared advisable that the whole situation should be clearly summed up, and put not only before the King, but before the chiefs of the nation, and consequently as much as possible before the nation, together with a full explanation of the object and nature of the inquiry that was being held, and more particularly so advisable in order that no room might exist for its being afterwards said that the Zulu nation had not known the real state of the case, or that the Zulu King or nation had not understood what was intended by the inquiry, I decided to send a message to the King, and to send it by Mr. Fynney, who knows the Zulus and the Zulu language well, and who would be able to give at once any further explanations on the subject should any be wanted. Mr. Fynney would be in a position at the same time to ascertain the disposition of the King and the chiefs not only in respect of the land question, but generally towards the English.

Mr. Fynney unfortunately was too unwell at the time I asked him to go to undertake the journey, and his departure on that account became delayed from day to day from the 20th March to the 30th March, and he did not reach the King's kraal till the 8th April. A copy of my message and a copy of the Report which he has furnished to me on his return I herewith forward.

The reception given to Mr. Fynney was certainly not a friendly one. The King appears to have distrusted the object of his visit, and to have thought that he came with some hidden purpose. The circumstance that he did not come by the place where the Commission was sitting, though to have done so would have taken him a very long way out of his road, and though he travelled by the ordinary and principal road into Zululand, aroused the suspicion of the King that he had come with the object to make the Zulus tell two different stories, a suspicion which of course could not occur to anyone who had only one story to tell.

The King said he was ill, and could not receive Mr. Fynney, and though the chiefs received him their reception of him was cold and unfriendly, and they subjected him to many questions and cross questions; and, with regard to the purport of the message, they asked one moment who it was had said that the Zulu delegates would not call witnesses, and the next moment why the Zulus should require to call any witnesses, seeing that there was no dispute for adjudication, as all the land belonged to the Zulus.

Mr. Fynney reports that in his opinion the King, though he does not wish to take the initiative, has a desire to try his strength with the white men if only a pretext should offer itself, and this quite apart from the land question. There is a large party whose wishes are with the King in this matter; but on the other hand there are very many, more particularly among the elder and influential men, who are averse to a war with the English. The general impression, however, brought away by Mr. Fynney is that the temper of the King and of a great number of those who have power and weight is unfriendly to us, and that the temper of a large portion of the nation is warlike.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir H. B. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 2.

Message from the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal to the Zulu King.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal sends Mr. Fynney to the King that he may tell him and the Zulu nation the words of the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the boundary dispute between the Zulus and the Transvaal, and regarding the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor and now sitting at Rorke's Drift.

The Lieutenant-Governor has heard that those who have been sent to represent the Zulu case before the Commissioners of Inquiry hear what those who have been

sent by the Government of the Transvaal to represent the Transvaal case say, but they themselves allege that they have not received from the King authority to speak or to call witnesses. Usirayo, the Lieutenant-Governor hears, has said that he and his fellow delegates Anundulu and Gebula have only been instructed by the King to point out the boundary line claimed for the Zulus, that they have no witnesses to call nor questions to ask. The Lieutenant-Governor does not know how it is that Usirayo has said these words, because the Lieutenant-Governor did not appoint the Commissioners merely that the line of boundary claimed by both sides might be pointed out to them with the finger, for that settles nothing. To do that, or to make a statement indicating the line of boundary claimed, is but a preliminary step, and such a statement has been made already, and only to hear it repeated would not require the appointment of Commissioners.

The Commissioners who are at Rorke's Drift were sent not to hear such a statement only, but to hear also all that both parties might have to say on the subject, to hear the claims of both parties, and not only the claims, but the grounds upon which the claims rest, to hear the witnesses on both sides, to hear the evidence on both sides, and to hear all in the presence of both sides, that is to say, in the presence of the persons appointed to represent the two sides, in order that the claims and the grounds upon which the claims rest, may be fully ascertained and all necessary questions asked relative to the dispute in the presence of both sides, and on the part of both sides, so that the matter being openly and thoroughly investigated, and the true state of the case in this way ascertained, a just and satisfactory arrangement may be promoted.

It was for this purpose that the Commissioners were appointed, and the Lieutenant-Governor sent them in compliance with the wishes of the Zulu King, who expressed a desire that the Lieutenant-Governor would appoint persons to hear both sides.

The King in a message to the Lieutenant-Governor named by name some of the witnesses for the Zulu case, and yet the Zulu delegates said that they had no witnesses to call. The Lieutenant-Governor trusts, however, that the Zulu delegates have before now received instructions and authority to ask questions and call witnesses.

The dispute regarding the boundary and the land is no new dispute. It has existed for many years. It was no dispute between the English and the Zulus. It was a dispute between the Zulus and the old Government of the Transvaal. Both Panda and Cetywayo sent oftentimes to the Government of Natal about this dispute. They wished the English to settle the dispute, to hear both stdes, to decide, and by that decision the Zulus, they said, would abide. They also, Panda and Cetywayo, wished the English to take possession of the land between the Boers and the Zulus. The English, said the Zulus, have always kept their boundary, there has been no trouble between us and the English, let the English then, said the Zulus, come between us and the Boers and occupy this piece of land and it will be well. But the English did not do this. They did not want the land. They only desired that there should be a proper settlement of the dispute between the Boers and the Zulus, and they were willing to give their good offices towards that settlement.

But there were difficulties in the way, and so the settlement was delayed. At last the Transvaal came under the English rule, and then the opportunity offered itself of settling, in a friendly manner this long standing dispute. But in the negotiations that were commenced some months since misunderstandings arose, and even whilst negotiations were still going on, the Zulus took action in the disputed territory, and the neighbourhood which was calculated to disturb the negotiations and complicate the question.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Natal mindful of the old and friendly relations that had existed between the Government of Natal and the Zulus, and of the representations so often made to the Natal Government by the Zulus on the subject of this very dispute, sent thereupon a message to the King reminding him that the action taken by the Zulus in the disputed territory, pending negotiations, was against established usage, that the Transvaal was now under English rule, that the only object of the English was that the question should be settled in a manner just to both parties, and this being so that there ought to be no obstacle to a friendly and peaceful settlement of the question.

But as there appeared to be some difficulty in the way of the negotiations with the Transvaal Government because of the length of time that the dispute between the Zulus and the people of the Transvaal had lasted, and of the ill-feeling that it had engendered between the two people, the Lieutenant-Governor added by way of suggestion that failing those negotiations, there was still another way open to a satisfactory settlement

namely, by a reference of the question to the Queen's Government or the Queen's High Commissioner.

The King in reply asked that before this way was taken the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal should appoint persons to hear both sides. If no understanding could by this means be come to, then it would be time, said the King, to send across the water.

It was in consequence of this request on the part of the King that the Lieutenant-Governor sent certain chosen persons as Commissioners that they might hear all that both sides might have to say, inquire fully into the matter in dispute, receive evidence, hear and examine witnesses, and thoroughly investigate the case in the presence of both parties; and the King and the Zulu Chiefs and the Zulu nation will have seen in this course the desire of the Lieutenant-Governor that the claims of both sides shall be equally heard and equally considered, and that they shall be heard by both sides, face to face, both sides making representations and asking questions, and all the matter being faithfully and thoroughly, and in the presence of all, inquired into, so that what is the true state of the case may appear.

This is not done in secret, but in the open; and it is well that the King and the ears of all Zululand may hear and their eyes see what is being done in this matter, and that all the Zulus may understand and feel that the English only desire that what is open and right and just shall be done.

(Signed) H. Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

March 29, 1878.

Enclosure 3.

Report of Mission to the Zulu King and Nation.

In accordance with verbal instructions received from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor I left Pietermaritzburg on the 30th of March, and proceeded to the Zulu country, arriving at the King's military kraal, Nodwengu, on the 8th April 1878.

I saw the Chief Melclisi in charge of that kraal, who sent a messenger to the King to report my arrival. The next day, the 9th, two messengers from the King arrived, who said they were instructed by him to ask me the object of my mission, and that I was to deliver my message to them, to tell them all, and not be afraid. I thereupon gave them an outline of the message which was to the effect that the delegates who had been sent up on behalf of the Zulu nation to the Commission sitting at Rorke's Drift had declined to ask questions or call witnesses, stating that they had no authority from the King to do so, only having been instructed by him to point out the boundary line claimed for the Zulus. That the Lieutenant-Governor did not know how it was Sirayo and his fellow delegates had said these words, as the pointing out of the boundary line simply would not settle anything.

I pointed out the object of the appointment of the Commission, and said I had come to ask that the King if he had not already done so would give authority to the Zulu delegates to both ask questions and call witnesses on the Zulu side.

The King was at Miezekanye, a military kraal some 12 miles off. I told the King's messengers I would ride down to the place early next morning, and did so accordingly.

About halfway I was met by the Chiefs Vumandaba and Matyana, with followers, who asked me to dismount and hear a message from the King. I did so. Vumandaba informed me that the King was ill and could not see me. (On inquiring after the King's health the day before I was informed by the two messengers that he was quite well), that I could deliver my message to them (Vumandaba and Matyana), and could then return.

Wishing that as many of the Zulu nation as possible should hear the object of my mission I repeated his Excellency's message to Vumandaba in the hearing of the others, but refused to Natal* without seeing the principal Chief if I could not see the King, saying my message must be delivered at the royal kraal and not in the bush. I rode on to Miezekanye and read his Excellency's message to the principal Chiefs of Zululand, viz., Vumandaba, Thingwayo, Unfanawendhlela, Umnyamana, Matyana, Umfimyeli, and three others, many Zulus sitting around.

The King Cetywayo was not present, nor did he see me or communicate with me in any way whatever.

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* Sic in original.

At the conclusion of the reading of the message Umnyamana asked me who had written to let the Government know that their delegates would not call witnesses or ask questions, to which I answered I could not say; the Chiefs had listened to the words of the message which said "the Government had heard." I was repeatedly pressed by Umnyamana and other Chiefs to give the name of the writer of the letter, to which I replied, I cannot say. Umnyamana, Thingwayo, and Umfanawendhlelu taxed me with having another object than the mere delivery of the Lieutenant-Government's message in visiting Zululand, and pressed me to state what that object was, to speak out, and not shuffle. I told them they had heard the object of my visit already. Umnyamana, with some others, appeared annoyed that I had come at all, and asked why I had not gone up to the Commission, and so come from them instead of coming in at the lower end of Zululand, to make the Zulus speak in two directions at once so that they should commit themselves. That if their delegates did not ask questions or call witnesses, Mr. John Shepstone, who was one of the Commission, was the right person to let them know. Why had they not heard from him instead of the Natal Government?

They said the Zulu nation had no dispute requiring adjudication, and why should they therefore require any witnesses for the land was theirs, belonging to the nation from the time of Thyaka. That the Boers had only been allowed to reside there (on certain lands) as squatters, never having obtained any right to land from any of the Kings. Umnyamana pressed me repeatedly to say to whom I thought the land belonged. I declined to reply to the question, pointing out that a Commission had been appointed to inquire into that subject.

Umnyamana and other of the Chiefs repeatedly accused Sir Theophilus Shepstone of a desire to take their land from them, and asked what the Natal Government had to say to that. Umnyamana desired me to say to the Natal Government that there had never been any dispute between the English and the Zulu nation respecting their boundaries, and that the Zulus wished the same to be the case with the Transvaal.

That the Zulu nation claimed the Buffalo River as the boundary between them and the Transvaal, up to its source and from there along the Drakensberg to the north.

That the Boers must remove to the west of that range and leave a great space (a day's journey) between them and the Zulus. Umnyamana said further, messengers should be sent to their delegates to know if it was true that they did not call witnesses and ask questions.

In accordance with his Excellency's private instructions I used every endeavour to find out the political feelings of the King and Zulu nation generally, and the conclusions I have arrived at are as follows:

That the King professes to believe that Sir Theophilus Shepstone wishes to claim the whole of the land known as the disputed territory, and that this idea has been circulated throughout Zululand by the King.

That the King believes himself not only strong enough to resist but to conquer any force which could be brought against him, and is therefore prepared to fight for any other line than the one named to me by the Chiefs, viz., the Buffalo River, and the Drakensburg range.

That the King professes to believe the Natal Government is secretly supporting the claim made by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and that he therefore distrusts that Government.

That some of the Chiefs bear the King out in his intention to resist the Transvaal claim should it really be insisted upon.

That many of the young regiments are eager for war, and speak openly about it, and that the King confident of his power, has a desire to test his strength against the English, and although unwilling to take the initiative, still he would be glad of any pretext, even apart from the land question which should serve as a justification to his mind for so doing.

To this feeling I attribute the treatment I received as the bearer of the Lieutenant-Governor's message, as the whole plan of my reception appeared to me to be understood before the purport of my visit was known to either the King or Chief.

That while the King and younger men desire a fight, there are many of the older and more thoughtful of the Zulu nation who desire peace, and that all or any disputes may be settled in a peaceable manner.

The truth of this remark was impressed upon me during my journey by several Zulus who suspected that my mission had reference to the territory in dispute, and I was asked to use what influence I had to promote a peaceable settlement.

That while many would fight in defence of their land, few of the older men (if any) care much for the King personally as they remember the promises he made to the Natal

Government at his coronation, and how he has broken them, and I am of opinion that in the event of Cetywayo going to war with the English, he would find himself deserted by great numbers of his people.

That the King in all he does is acting under advice, by whom given I am not prepared to say.

Pietermaritzburg, April 22, 1878. (Signed) F. Bernard Fynney.

No. 2.

Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the Right Hon. Sir M. E. HICKS BEACH, Bart. (Received May 30, 1878.)

Government House, Cape Town,
May 7, 1878.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit, for your information, a Despatch which I have received from his Excellency Sir H. Bulwer informing me of the incomplete result, in consequence of the attitude of Cetywayo's representatives, of the Commission of Inquiry arranged by Sir H. Bulwer to investigate the question of the disputed territory between Cetywayo and the Transvaal Government. I also have the honour to forward copy of my reply to Sir Henry Bulwer. His Despatch reached me too late to take a copy before forwarding it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. Sir M. Hicks Beach, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1.

Sir Bartle Frere to Sir Henry Bulwer.

Government House, Cape Town,
May 7, 1878.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt, yesterday, of your confidential Despatch of the 24th April 1878, informing me that the Commission appointed by you to inquire into the boundary in dispute between the Transvaal and Zulus had terminated their inquiry, returned to Pietermaritzburg, and were preparing their Report.

I shall share the anxiety with which I feel sure you will await their Report, for the details given in your Despatch under reply seem to me to leave no doubt of the unfriendly and hostile intentions of the Zulu Chief, and his determination to submit to no abatement of his extreme demands.

As at present advised, I do not see how these Zulu claims can be admitted without the Transvaal giving up portions of territory which have for years been unquestioned as belonging to the Transvaal Republic.

Apart from all other objections to such a course, any such surrender would be inconsistent with the pledges given by Sir Theophilus Shepstone to the inhabitants of the Transvaal that in taking them over the British Government would maintain the integrity of their State, and repel the unjust encroachments of native tribes. Nor do I see any reasonable ground for hoping that any possible concessions to the Zulu demands will render our frontier more secure against further unjust aggressions by the Zulu Chief and his allies.

I hold these opinions subject to any modification which may be suggested by the Report of the Boundary Commissioners, or by a fuller acquaintance with the view which your Excellency and Sir Theophilus Shepstone may take of the situation.

But it seems to me that the position now assumed by the Zulu chief is that which he has throughout asserted, if we judge him by his own acts and words rather than by the intentions attributed to him by his agents.

I have not at hand the means of ascertaining whether in his communications with Sir Theophilus Shepstone before the annexation of the Transvaal, Cetywayo specified the precise limits of his claims against the Boers. But his interview with Mr. Finney last year, before that gentleman went to England, plainly indicated the Zulu Chief's intention not to rest content with his existing boundaries.

This was subsequent to the annexation of the Transvaal, which ought to have removed all fear of further aggression from that quarter, and long anterior to any disturbances on the Cape Eastern Frontier or on the North-eastern Frontier of the Transvaal.

At the time when he had every reason to expect that profound peace and freedom from aggressive wars would be secured by British supremacy throughout all neighbouring kingdoms and provinces, the Zulu Chief plainly indicated his desire to have a "washing " of his young men's spears;" in other words, a bloody war, which, as he had no reason to fear one of necessary self-defence, could be only a wanton war of aggression by his own warriors on some neighbour.

Besides Natal and the Transvaal the Swazis were almost the only neighbouring people against whom such a war could be waged, and existing circumstances then indicated the Swazis as the more probable objects of an attack "to blood his young men's " spears."

Subsequent events seem to show that there can be little doubt his intention then was, as at present, to assert his claims to territory nearer at home; to make a "little raid" upon the Boers, in the course of which the necessary "blooding of spears" could be accomplished, and his own claim to sovereign powers as a military chief confirmed. He very possibly thought that when in possession of the Transvaal the British Government would not have objected to let an old friend and ally share in what he regarded as a conquest, and if he could be permitted to go through the form of a conquest after some slaughter of the defenders of the territory, rather than of a peaceful cession, without bloodshed, every wish of his heart would be gratified.

But whatever may have been his views then, there seems from the facts you have communicated to me little room for hoping that Cetywayo has now any other intention than to obtain and hold by force what he has claimed, and unless there are good grounds for doubting this conclusion, we ought to be prepared to defend the just rights of Her Majesty's subjects.

I shall await with anxiety any expression of your views as to the measures you propose adopting for this purpose, and the steps which you wish to be taken either by General Thesiger or by this Government with a view to support you. General Thesiger is, as you are aware, still on the Eastern Frontier, and I shall be glad if you will communicate freely with him on all matters of importance relative to the security of your charge.

He has, I hope, done all or nearly all that can be done by regular military operations to put down the rebellion and civil war in the Eastern Provinces of this Colony, and I trust he will soon be able to leave the maintenance of order entirely to the civil authorities, and to turn his undivided attention to the Natal border and Transvaal without risk of a formidable war rekindling in his rear.

Regarding Pondoland, I shall have occasion to address you separately. I will only now observe that though the character and past history of the Pondos do not give grounds for apprehending serious aggressive movements on the part of the paramount Chief, his whole conduct for the past year has been in complete and ostentatious disregard of his treaty obligations. The unfriendly spirit he has evinced on every occasion, his receipt of messengers from Cetywayo and Kreli, without reporting their arrival or the purport of their visit, and the marked sympathy he has shown with all who are opposed to the Government, are circumstances which cannot be disregarded by the General in his arrangements either in Kaffraria or Natal.

There is probably little in our intelligence from the Transvaal which will be new to your Excellency. You will have heard of the very unsatisfactory state of the relations between the Government and the Boer population, and the other reasons which induce Sir Theophilus Shepstone to desire to see Pretoria reinforced with regular troops.

Sikukuni, as your Excellency is aware, has hitherto evaded the performance of the engagements he made with the Boers at the termination of their war with him, and his conduct of late gives colour to the belief that he is acting in concert with Cetywayo. His action appears seriously to have disturbed the Basuto and Griqua population as far off as the Diamond Fields.

In fact, throughout every part of the country inhabited by Kafirs, or influenced by the movements of Kafir tribes, there is evidence of the results long since pointed out by Sir Theophilus Shepstone and others as likely to follow the weakness and misgovernment of the Transvaal, the diminished estimation of the power of the white races, and the increased confidence of the Kafirs and Zulus consequent on the acquisition of large

numbers of improved firearms by a generation of warriors who have had no real experience of the superiority of the white races in war.

It is with this spirit we shall have to reckon on more than one field of action, and I shall receive with great interest your Excellency's views on questions regarding which your position gives you such peculiar advantages in obtaining correct information and forming just opinions.

I have, &c.

His Excellency Sir H. Bulwer, K.C.M.G., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
Governor and High Commissioner.

No. 3.

Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart. (Received July 16, 1878.)

Government House, Cape Town,
June 25, 1878.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward, for your information, copy of a Despatch I received yesterday from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, in reply to my Despatch to his Excellency of the 7th May,* a copy of which I had the honour to forward to you with my Despatch of the same date. A copy of my reply to Sir Henry Bulwer is also enclosed.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
June 12, 1878.

Sir,

I have considered with the attention they demand your Excellency's observations on the present state of affairs in South Africa, and more especially those touching the Zulu question which formed the subject of your Despatch of the 7th ultimo.

2. If it be the case that the Zulu King is determined to submit to no abatement of his extreme demands, demands which set forth the assertion of Zulu sovereignty in territories extending not only to the line of the Drakensberg, but northward as far as, and even beyond, the Olifants River; then indeed the attempt to bring about a just settlement of the questions at issue in a peaceable manner is hopeless. For these are pretensions which, so far as we know, are advanced for the first time, and can have, I am told, for a great part of them, no better title than that the armies of Chaka formerly swept over the whole of the country to which they refer, conquerors no doubt for the moment, but never establishing at any time the permanent hold of conquest, and they are pretensions therefore which, as set forth, could not be seriously entertained for a single moment.

3. But is there such a determination on the part of the Zulu King? Or is it that the broad assertion of this territorial claim is meant only as a general declaration intended to cover all strict Zulu rights under an assertion of more than those strict rights, under an assertion, that is to say, of claims to the fullest extent for which any ostensible pretext exists? It is difficult to believe, with regard to the greater part of the territory named by the King, that there has been any other reason for naming it than the one above mentioned, or that the King expects the claim to be entertained, or has any thought of attempting to make it good by force. It is difficult to believe, in short, that the words are anything more than empty words.

4. But for a part of the claim it is unquestionable that the assertion is something more than empty words, and that the claim is made in real earnestness and with a belief, on the part of the Zulu people at all events, that it is a just one.

5. On the west of the Zulu country, between the Buffalo and the Pongolo Rivers, and extending up to the Drakensberg line, lies a district which, beyond all manner of question, was in former years a portion of Zululand proper. The geographical features of the country, if they mean anything, mark it be so; and, as a matter of fact, it was

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* No. 2.

so in very recent years, having been formally and by treaty recognised as such by the English at the time of the settlement of Natal, and admitted as such by the Boers of the Transvaal, whose claims to it rest upon the alleged subsequent cession of the land to them by the Zulus. It is this district, or some portion of it, which is known as the "disputed territory," the Transvaal claiming it to be theirs by cessions made by the Zulus somewhere between the years 1854 and 1864, and the Zulus denying the cessions, and claiming it to be still, as it was before, an integral portion of Zululand.

6. It would be premature to say anything upon the merits of this question, which has lately formed the subject of an inquiry by a Special Boundary Commission, and is still under the consideration of that commission for report; but whatever the merits of the dispute may be found to be, it is certain that this portion of the territory cannot be counted as territory which has for any time belonged to the Transvaal Government unquestioned. It may possibly be found that the right to this territory, or to a portion of it, belongs to the Transvaal, but in any case it has not been an unquestioned right, for during 16 or 17 years the Zulus have never ceased to question it, and it will therefore be perceived that the pledges given by Sir T. Shepstone to the inhabitants of the Transvaal, that in taking them over the British Government would maintain the integrity of their State, and repel the unjust encroachments of native tribes, cannot—let alone any previous promises made on the part of the English to the Zulus—be held applicable to this territory unless it can be shown that it was a bonâ fide integral portion of the State at the time of annexation, and that the claims of the Zulus to it have been and are unjust.

7. Then across the Pongolo there is another question, or possibly more than one question, arising out of the conflicting claims between the late Government of the Republic and the Zulus as to the relations in which they respectively stood towards a third people, the Amaswazi; and whatever the merits on either side may be, it is certain that the claim of the Zulus dates many years back, whilst those of the Transvaal Government are comparatively recent, and it is only, in fact, within the last few years that the late Government of the Republic, asserting the right of sovereignty or protectorate over the Swazis, claimed to extend the line of Transvaal frontier across the Swazi country in the direction of the sea, as far as the Lobombo Mountains. The claim came at once into conflict with the asserted existing rights of the Zulus, and the Zulu King lost no time in repudiating it, and the question became one of the two questions of a serious character between the two countries which it was my duty to bring under the notice of the Secretary of State very shortly after my arrival in this Colony. With regard to this matter also, then, it is not a question that is now first raised by the Zulus, it is one the existence of which was recognised by Her Majesty's Government before the annexation, and it is one which, unsettled up to the time of the annexation, has been by that Act taken over by the English.

8. These two questions, the one of the so-called "disputed territory," and the other the conflicting claims arising out of the relationship of the two countries towards the Swazis, are, so far as I know, the two main questions that will have to be settled with the Zulus. They are not, it is clear, new questions which have been raised by the Zulus since the annexation, but old questions which existed before the annexation, and which have at last come up for settlement. Where the demands of the Zulu King are found to go beyond these two questions it seems doubtful if they are matter for any inquiry or consideration at all; but for the two questions named by me, they at least, whatever the issue be, claim at the hands of Her Majesty's Government inquiry and consideration.

9. With regard to the conduct and intentions of the Zulus, these no doubt have become affected by the course of recent events in South Africa, by the Sikukuni war in 1876, by the failure of the Government of the Republic to cope with that war, by the subsequent annexation of the Transvaal by the English, and to some extent, perhaps, by the more recent disturbances on the Cape frontier.

10. The relations between the Zulu King and the English are unquestionably no longer what they were before those events. Up to the year 1876 it had been the King's interest and his particular object to be on good terms with the English, and to cultivate their friendship, which he did through his relations with the Government of Natal, the nearest representative of British authority. It was his interest, it was the interest of the Zulu nation, that they should place themselves as much as possible, without losing their national independence, under the shelter of the "Great House" (the English Government) as they looked to it for their best protection from the aggressions of their Transvaal neighbours and the encroaching policy of the Transvaal Republic, of whose inherent strength or weakness as a State they could form but an imperfect conception.

11. The breakdown of the resources of the Republic in its attempt to deal with

Sikukuni removed their apprehensions of the power of the Transvaal to do them much harm. The necessity for English protection was no longer an argument for deference to English councils, and the King could take a more independent line.

12. Nevertheless, desirous though he probably was personally, and though the young fighting men of the nation undoubtedly were, of taking advantage of the disordered state of the Transvaal to assert by force the rights of which, truly or untruly, he represented the Zulu nation had been and was being robbed by the Transvaal, he was withheld from doing so by the indisposition of the more prudent portion of the nation to take an action which it was known would be disapproved by the English, as he had been withheld in past years from attempting to do so, partly from the same cause and partly from a less confidence in the power of the Zulus to cope with the power of the Republic.

13. In a state of uneasiness and excitement, and prepared at any moment for war, the Zulus awaited the course of events. Then followed the annexation of the Transvaal, an act the immediate bearing of which they were unable at first to comprehend, but which they soon perceived had essentially altered the position, and had somehow placed the Boers, whom they looked upon as their enemies, under the protection of the English, whom they had looked upon as their friends. It was an act that filled them with surprise and disappointment, followed up by a feeling of disquietude on their own account, for a report got abroad that the annexion of the Transvaal would be followed by the annexation of the Zulu country.

14. Moreover, the redress, which they had so long and it must be admitted so patiently waited for of their alleged grievances against the Transvaal Boers seemed further off and more hopeless than ever, for it had been to the English (through the Natal Government) that they had represented and had been for years representing these grievances, it had been the influence and counsels of the English which had so often held them back from attempting to redress those grievances themselves by force, it was the English to whom they had consequently come to look for their redress, and now it was the English who, as it seemed to them, had actually gone over to the side of the Transvaal and taken the Boers under their protection.

15. The feeling of surprise then, was soon followed by feelings of distrust, resentment, and apprehension; and at the same time there grew upon the nation a strong determination to resist any attempt to take from them land which they held to be beyond all dispute a part of Zulu territory.

16. Add to these the desire of the younger men for war, the unsatisfied vanity of the King, who has not, after the manner of Zulu Kings, washed his assegais since his accession. And we cannot fail, I think, to discern some explanation of the recent conduct and bearing of the Zulus.

17. Your Excellency observes that the annexation of the Transvaal ought to have removed all fear of further aggression from that quarter, and that the King has had every reason to expect that profound peace and freedom from aggressive wars would be secured by British supremacy. But, in point of fact, the annexation of the Transvaal led, as it appears, to a report that the annexation of Zululand was also contemplated; and besides, there remained the question of the past—the question of alleged grievances, and of the claims in dispute which were still left unsettled. It is this matter which has been uppermost in the Zulu mind ever since the annexation; and their fear has been that the English, to whom they had for years been bringing their grievances and appealing against the aggressions of the Transvaal, should now, after advising them for so long a time to wait for a settlement, turn round and confirm these aggressions in their own favour. Looking thus and with these apprehensions upon the annexation of the Transvaal, they would not of course see in that act a guarantee against future aggression.

18. No doubt the temper of the nation is an awkward one at this moment. The King's personal friendship for us never was much. He formerly felt the importance of our support against the policy of the Republic, and he wished on that account to put himself as much as possible under the shelter of the "Great House" (the English Government), but now he no longer has that need. He is dissatisfied with himself, and his young men try to make him more so, being themselves more than ever filled with bombast and talk of war, even with the white man, for they are of a generation which, as your Excellency justly observes, has had no experience of the superiority of the white man in war. Of more important than these is the feeling of the elder men of the nation, and of the nation itself at large. There is, I believe, in Zululand at this moment, a feeling which runs through the entire Zulu nation, that a great wrong has been or is being done to them about the

land; that the action of the Republic was an attempt to rob them of a portion of the Zulu country, of land which belongs to the nation, with which the King cannot part were he ever so much minded to do so, with which the nation alone can part, and with which it never has parted. Bit by bit the farmers of the Transvaal had advanced into the Zulu country, pushing forward towards the sea, till they had almost hemmed the Zulus into a corner. "In a little while," said the old King Panda, "the Boers will not leave me room "enough in which to stretch my legs," and gradually upon the nation there has come a strong sense of injury, and with it a feeling of general resentment. There is a large party in Zululand—it may be said there is a large portion of the nation—whose sympathies have been for years with the English, who have looked upon us as their friends and who have had faith in our justice. Many of these are men who would deplore as the worst calamity a war with the English. But if the need came, they would probably all unite against what they believe to be an injustice, and in defence of the integrity of their country.

19. The king is not popular with his people. He is a tyrant, and there are doubtless thousands of Zulus who would not be sorry to see English authority substituted to-morrow for the despotism under which they now live. But probably every man in Zululand would be on the King's side in this cause. These considerations deserve to be taken into account, for so much as they show that the Zulu nation looks upon the question of the "disputed territory with one mind" as an unjust an unjustifiable attempt on the part of the Transvaal Republic to take away from the Zulu people what has always been an integral portion of the Zulu country.

20. Your Excellency has been pleased to ask for my views on the steps that ought to be taken under the circumstances. To ascertain as nearly as may be possible the merits of the boundary questions between the late Government of the Republic and the Zulu people, and to act as nearly as may be possible upon those ascertained merits, seems to me the only course that is open to us at the outset.

21. Our position in this matter is a peculiar one. We have become, by the annexation, one of the parties to the questions between the former Government of the Transvaal and the Zulus, but at the same time we are really more than a party to the dispute, for we are in the position of judges of it also.

We cannot, I submit, divest ourselves of all responsibility for having in past years allowed these questions to grow up across our border to endanger the peace of the country and to remain unsettled. The Zulus refrained from attempting to settle them by force in past years mainly out of deference to our counsels and well-known views. We were appealed to by them. The questions affected us, indirectly indeed, but closely and seriously. It was for our interest that they should be settled, and we could have obliged their settlement without any difficulty, but they were allowed to remain open, and now we have to settle them when we occupy no longer the impartial position we formerly did, but have become a party to them. It seems, therefore, if I may say so, incumbent upon us, looking to the part we have for years taken towards the Zulus in this matter, that in the settlement of these disputes the part we now take should be as much as possible a judicial one. The ultimate decision resting thus on the ascertained merits of the questions at issue, if it should appear that there is any foundation for the Zulu claims, whatever is found to be justly theirs would be conceded to them, or in one form or another the justice of their claims would be satisfied. We should in this way at once place ourselves in the right, and know that we are in the right, which we do not at this moment know, and the issue would become clear and straightforward. The lines of boundary to be observed between the two countries would be distinctly and exactly determined and defined, and there would be an end to the state of uncertainty in this respect which has been the normal condition of things for so many years in that part of the country, there would remain no longer room for doubt or for dispute, and if the Zulus afterwards went beyond the lines, with them the wrong would lie; but until a decision is arrived at, and until the future lines are definitely laid down, it is difficult to say what other steps could be taken with advantage. To put beforehand any force, or any more force than there is at present on the border or in its neighbourhood, or to make any demonstration of force in support of the decision before the decision is arrived at, and before it is shown that force will be required to support it, will expose our intentions to suspicion and possibly jeopardise a settlement. The decision once given, it will soon be seen if the Zulu King accepts and adheres to it, or if he intends to dispute it; and, in the latter case, with the first act of aggression on his part, the time will have arrived for putting an effectual stop to all such aggression in future.

22. Your Excellency refers to the recent events which have taken place, and to the

indications of native policy which have shown themselves in several parts of South Africa. It is, I believe, beyond question the case, as pointed out in your Despatch, that the acquisition of late years of fire-arms, the weapon of the white man, has had a considerable influence on the mind of the natives, it having given them a feeling of greater confidence as to their ability to contend with the white man than they ever formerly possessed. It is the case also, I believe, that the circumstances of the Sikukuni war in 1876, exaggerated and spread abroad over the country, strengthened that feeling of confidence; and these are considerations which cannot be lost sight of in dealing with the questions that arise. What also seems, under the present circumstances in South Africa, to be an essential point to keep in view in determining from time to time the situation, and in dealing with any questions that may arise, is the degree of connexion between the various native populations, and between the events that may be passing in different parts of the country.

23. So far as I can offer an opinion to your Excellency upon this point I would say that hitherto there has been nothing to show that what has taken place in different parts of the country are positions of any general combination, movement, or understanding among the natives. No doubt the events that are passing in one part of the country will be known, more or less correctly, and discussed in other parts of the country. What has been recently passing on the Cape Frontier, for instance, will doubtless form the subject of discussion in native kraals from the Kei River to the Zambesi.

To some extent there will be direct communications passing between tribes immediately concerned and other tribes which are not concerned.

Communications, also, between the various Chiefs will be more frequent in such times than at other times. The Zulu King will probably have his messengers in every country, the bearers of a friendly message of greeting from him asking news, feeling the way, and ascertaining the views of the Chief to whom they are sent. To some extent also whatever is passing in one part of the country and with one tribe, will affect other tribes in other parts of the country, perhaps unsettling them, or exciting them, perhaps only interesting them. But there has been nothing as yet to show that what has taken place up to this has arisen from or has been a part of any general combination or movement. What has hitherto taken place, whether it has been actual disturbance or an indication of disturbing elements at work, can all, I believe, be traced to local causes and influences independent of one another. The circumstances which led to the war on the Cape Frontier were, if we correctly understand them here, purely local. The subsequent disturbance in Griqualand East was entirely local and due entirely to local causes and circumstances. With regard to the Pondos, I have already put before your Excellency the opinion of this Government formed upon an experience of many years, as to the character and conduct of the Pondos, and if there has been of late any want of strict adherence in any particular to treaty obligations, or if there has been any apparent want of friendliness on the part of the paramount Chief and the Pondo people, it has been due, I believe your Excellency will find, to exceptional causes and misunderstandings, capable of easy explanation and arrangement. The conduct of Sikukuni is doubtless at present influenced by the condition of things outside his own district, but it dates from his differences with the Government of tho Republic in 1876, and was due to the policy and the action of the Republic, while the state of uneasiness and the disturbing influences at work among the Zulus have been certainly due to their disputes with the Republic and to the policy and conduct of the Republic in its dealings with them, and if they exist now they exist because the disputes themselves still remain unsettled.

24. In all that has happened, then, the causes can, I think, be clearly traced home to local circumstances; and the fact that, notwithstanding the troubles on either side of us, the large native population of Natal has remained perfectly quiet and undisturbed is a strong proof that up to this time no matter what communications may have passed between different Chiefs and different tribes, there has been no attempt at a combined movement, or if there has been any attempt to bring about such a movement it has not yet succeeded. That the various elements of disturbance which are to be found in South Africa, both those which are now active as well as those which are quiescent, might at any time by an unhappy combination of circumstances be brought together and brought to work in one general movement is only too possible; but hitherto we have escaped this, and the importance of preventing it by every means in our power, by the avoidance of any occasion for it, by localising as much as possible every trouble that does arise, dealing with it separately and distinctly as a separate matter, and by treating in the

usual manner and with the usual confidence all those which are not concerned in it, cannot of course be overrated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

His Excellency the Right Hon.
Sir H. Bartle Frere, G.C.B.

Enclosure 2.

Government House, Cape Town,
June 25, 1878.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Despatch No. 96 of the 12th June, on the present state of affairs in South Africa, and beg your Excellency to accept my thanks for the detailed and thoughtful statement of your views which the Despatch embodies.

2. I entirely agree with your Excellency's opinions as expressed in paragraph 3 of your Despatch, that the main question at present is what are Cetywayo's present views and determination?

3. Your Excellency has better means of knowing the character and probable intentions of Cetywayo and the amount of reliance to be placed on his verbal assurances than I have, judging as I necessarily did from his acts. I had grave misgivings when I heard that his envoys had no instructions to produce evidence, but simply to point out the limits of claims, and to admit no discussion of their justice, and that, pending a decision, armed forces acting in Cetywayo's name had taken public possession of portions of the disputed territory.

4. I shall be much relieved to find I have been misinformed on these points, and still more to find that the Chief's future action does not justify my inference from the alleged facts.

5. I can quite concur in your Excellency's opinion expressed at the end of paragraph 8 that the two questions so clearly explained by your Excellency in the preceding paragraphs as long existing between the Zulus and the Boers on the one hand and the Swazies on the other, "claim at the hands of Her Majesty's Government inquiry and "consideration," and I shall therefore most anxiously look for the Report of the Special Commission and your Excellency's opinion on it.

6. I follow your Excellency in the clear explanation in the eight succeeding paragraphs, regarding the present aspect of the situation as it appears to the Zulus as well as to ourselves, but I am sure you will agree with me that we must also take into account the light in which the questions must appear to the Boers and to those Germans and Englishmen who, relying on the right of the Transvaal Republic to the lands it held as cessions or conquests from the Zulus, have in good faith and reliance on the Government they found in possession, settled, built, and stocked farms on lands whence they have been recently driven by the Zulus. In cases like this it is very difficult to apply any rule other than that of "uti possedetis," and whether the unjust pretensions of the Transvaal Government or the omission of the Zulus to enforce their rights were the cause of the Germans settling on that spot, the settlers would seem to have strong claim to be secured against loss even if it be necessary to damage them in rectifying the boundary, a necessity which is not at present apparent.

7. I regret to mark the Zulus distrust of our objects, and their disbelief in our assurances, as implied in your remarks in paragraph 17, but I have found unmistakable proof of the existence of similar mistrust and disbelief among the frontier tribes of this Colony, and I know of no remedy save such a course of scrupulous fair dealing as your Excellency justly advocates.

8. As to the future, I quite agree with the opinion expressed by your Excellency in the 21st paragraph, that "the part we now take should be as much as possible a "judicial one;" but it seems to me that we ought to be prepared to support the decision we may arrive at, and to see full justice done to the German settlers as well as to the respective Governments who are parties to the dispute.

9. Hence I feel some doubt as to the practical application of the very just remarks in the latter part of paragraph 21, regarding the necessity of avoiding all threatening demonstrations of force in the neighbourhood of the disputed boundary.

10. Your Excellency is aware that Her Majesty's 90th Regiment is now moving

towards Natal overland, and that Her Majesty's 2/24th is almost ready to follow by sea. These troops are probably by no means in excess of what may be required should the Zulus prove unreasonable, and, as is their custom, make a sudden attack; but if the troops are in your Excellency's opinion calculated, when they reach Natal, to increase the chance of a collision, timely notice should be given in order that some other provisional disposition of the troops may be considered.

11. On the very important questions discussed in your 22nd paragraph, as to the existence of "any general combination, movement, or understanding, among the "natives of South Africa," the results of our experience during the past year would lead me to state my conclusions somewhat differently from your Excellency.

Of concerted movement, treaty, or formal combination we have indeed found no evidence; but everywhere we find proofs of strong sympathy and community of aspirations for a trial of strength with the white man, having in view his expulsion from South Africa.

12. Mutual jealousies and the impossibility of trusting each other seem effectually to have prevented in most cases unity of action amoug native tribes, but in every case where a Chief has broken out we have found clear proof that a rising has been the subject of secret discussions and embassies from tribe to tribe for months previous. The proceedings of the enemy have been always half-hearted, often frivolous, and even childish when judged by their results; but there is little room for question as to their objects.

13. In the case of the Pondos there can be no doubt that the behaviour of the Chief Umquikela has been, as his envoys confessed, in direct violation of his treaty obligations. I can find no valid excuse for his conduct, save that we have so long tacitly suffered him to evade performance of his duties. I trust that he will be warned in time by the communications I have caused to be addressed to him, in which case we may be satisfied with his giving sufficient security for better behaviour in future.

14. In all these cases, the local cause to which your Excellency refers seems to me to be but the match applied to the train already laid.

15. But I quite agree with your Excellency as to the necessity for making every exertion to prevent the application of any such match, and to localise, as far as possible, the effects whenever an explosion unfortunately occurs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,

Governor and High Commissioner.

His Excellency Sir H. Bulwer, K.C.M.G.

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RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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